





REVIEW

OF

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION;

SHOWING

ITS ONLY POPULAR MEASURES TO HAVE ORIGINATED WITH THE
EXECUTIVE OF MILLARD FILLMORE.

BY

ANNA ELLA CARROLL,
OF MARYLAND,

AUTHORESS OF THE "GREAT AMERICAN BATTLE," "STAR OF THE WEST," ETC.



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P R E F A C E .

THE administration of Franklin Pierce is the subject of the chapters in this work. Had it been marked only by ordinary events, the writer would never have undertaken the task of reviewing it. But, as it has been one of the most extraordinary in its acts and policy which has characterized the annals of our country, and as "history is philosophy teaching by experience," a true analysis and exposition of the principal acts of the administration have been deemed of paramount importance, not only for the instruction and benefit of the present generation, but for statesmen and the rising generation who may come after us.

The political friends of the administration will do injustice if they ascribe the motives of the writer to personal interest, or prejudice, or to any feelings of partisan zeal. The acts of the administration speak for themselves; they are written in capitals broad as the republic, and conspicuous as the sun in the firmament; — they tell their own tale!

Some may think that it is not the province of a woman to enter on the rough path of a political critic, or to presume to discuss subjects which belong to the other sex. The writer's answer to all remarks of this nature is, that she knows of no rule to exclude females from society, or the discussion of any subject which has an immediate bearing on the social, moral, and political destiny of this nation; — that the interests and destiny

of mothers and daughters are common with those of their fathers and brothers;—that an American female is not an idle statue of a pagoda, or of a Turkish seraglio;—that if the apothegm of our orators is true, that it is the “mothers who make the men in a nation,” then daughters and mothers should not be ignorant on subjects which relate to the manly development of the mind, and the moulding of the rising generation;—that, while every well-cultivated female knows when she is within the province or without the bounds of feminine delicacy, there need be no fear that she will trespass either on the rights of the male sex, or wantonly expose herself to the charge of temerity. Truth is what concerns mankind; and from whatever lips or pen it may proceed, it should be welcomed by the receiver, and especially when its aim is for the welfare and highest good of individuals, of society, and of the nation.

The chapters on the administration in this book are not written for a temporary purpose, to serve the gratification or interest of the reader for a passing hour. They are subjects for all periods, having a permanent bearing, being of the highest interest to this nation, and to every man, woman, and child, within the limits of this republic.

If the author knows her own heart, she feels an anxious desire to benefit her country. And, with a love for it which is irrepressible, her earnest desire is to awaken the attention of the reader to the vast importance of the various subjects upon which this volume treats. With her fervent prayers that this may be the result, she commends it and them to the blessing of Heaven.

NEW YORK, 1856.

R E V I E W .

LAMARTINE, in his history of the "Girondists," gives the thrilling incident of the tombs of the French kings, despoiled by the populace at St. Denis, who scattered their ashes and monuments to the winds. And the winds gave signs of a virtuous national feeling, as they moaned and sighed over the desecration of the dead.

We are not now going to invade the mausoleum of our illustrious dead, to look at their vast fame, their sublime self-denial, or their firm patriotism ; but rapidly, as preliminary, to recur to the several administrations of the American government, from the days of Washington to those of Fillmore, before we introduce that of the present executive, of Franklin Pierce !

General Washington was inaugurated President of this Union the 30th of April, 1789. The great

and powerful opposition to the Constitution in several of the States then caused Congress to adopt sixteen amendments; and ten of these were approved by the Legislatures of the several States, in September of that year, and became part of the Constitution in 1791. Two other articles, adopted by the States, were made by subsequent Congresses, in 1794 and 1803, and also became part of the Constitution.

The subjects of commerce and finance early engrossed the attention of the first Congress, under Washington's administration; and six months were required to frame the laws by which the government was to be administered.

The power of appointment to and removal from office was strongly debated; and, the Constitution being silent on removals, it was decided to be in the power of the President. The Cabinet of Washington was not selected until September, 1789, four months after he was inaugurated. The office of Secretary of the Navy was established subsequently, under Mr. Adams, in 1798.

An opposition to the administration of Washington was organized soon after he came to the presidency. His opponents were chiefly those who

had opposed the Constitution, and called themselves *Republicans*; while the friends of the administration retained the name of Federalists.

Hamilton and Knox sympathized with Washington. Jefferson and Randolph opposed his administration. These four gentlemen composed his Cabinet.

The last years of the first term of Washington's government were intensely exciting. He and his adherents were in favor of preserving friendly relations with Great Britain; while Mr. Jefferson and the opposition declared sympathy for France.

In this condition of affairs, weak and feeble, yet divided and distracted, nothing but the almost superhuman strength and wisdom of Washington saved the Union from destruction.

At this crisis of public distrust, the leaders of both parties acted as patriots, and, rising above the excitement of party, insisted upon the reëlection of Washington; while the people unanimously affirmed the wisdom of this decision, through the ballot-box.

It was only on the Vice-President, then, that party feeling was exhibited; and Mr. Adams, the federal constitutional candidate, was elected

by twenty-seven majority over Governor Clinton, who carried New York for the republicans, and received fifty electoral votes. Aaron Burr, the third candidate, received four votes.

Mr. Adams then had the support of all the Northern States, except New York ; and South Carolina was the only state south of Maryland that voted for him.

In 1793, the second term of Washington's administration, Congress met in Philadelphia. The House elected a Speaker from the opposition. Jefferson resigned, as Secretary of State, the beginning of that term ; and Washington, having by experiment seen the effect of a mixed Cabinet, now selected one which agreed with him in the policy of administering the government.

It is a singular fact, that all the representatives in Congress from Virginia opposed Washington's administration, except one or two members early in his first term.

Washington and his Cabinet agreed, in his second term, that this country had no right to take part with France in her war against England ; and in April, 1793, issued the celebrated proclamation of neutrality, which has ever since

been the policy of this government with foreign powers.

To give motion and effect to the Union was the great mission of Washington. He had never studied a profession, — had not even begun the study of the classics. But for fifteen years before the Revolution he had been in the Legislature of Virginia, where he exercised his influence by soundness of judgment and readiness to act. He was never known to speak longer than ten minutes in any deliberative body ; and in the convention which formed the Constitution he spoke but twice — once on taking the presidency, and again near the close, when he asked consent to change the ratio of representation in Congress. He communicated to Congress verbally, and not by written messages, as all the Presidents have done from the time of Mr. Madison. In the *discretionary* power of the executive, Washington was wise and just. He never displaced any man for opinion, not even under the great party excitement about sympathy for France. Yet he preferred to give office to revolutionary patriots, because he knew them to be true Americans, and had tried them.

While in the presidential office, public and private credit was restored to the country ; all disputes between us and foreign nations were adjusted, except those with France ; and the prosperity of the Union had arisen to remarkable eminence, notwithstanding all hostile opposition.

He adhered tenaciously to his foreign policy, and finally overcame the popular clamor for France against England. His example stands replete with wisdom and devotion to the whole Union, and challenges the admiration of all parties to-day. His magnanimity, forbearance, his personal dignity, his construction of the Constitution, his sacred regard for it, his communications to Congress, and recommendations in regard to the Judiciary, Indian tribes, finance, the mint, as well as his demeanor to all the ministers and officers of the government, make him a model for all to imitate, who shall occupy his official position, or subscribe to the constitutional American principles which he inculcated and enforced.

The policy of Mr. Adams' administration was, at first, regarded as identical with that of Washington's. But the political acts of Mr. Adams rendered him very soon unpopular with the feder-

alists, though they were stronger in Congress than under Washington.

Mr. Adams quarrelled with his cabinet, and dismissed Mr. Pickering, Secretary of State, and Mr. McHenry, Secretary of War, from office. In May, 1800, he appointed John Marshall, of Virginia, Secretary of State, and Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts, Secretary of War. Benjamin Stoddard, of Maryland, in 1798, went into his cabinet, as first Secretary of the Navy. Mr. Adams's administration was renowned for party strife; for the dispute between France and the United States, which he settled against the federal policy; for the organization of the navy; for the passage of the alien and sedition laws, and for causing the downfall of his party at the end of four years.

In 1800, the seat of government was removed to Washington, and Mr. Adams made his last annual speech in the new capitol.

Mr. Jefferson's administration, from 1801 to 1809, was distinguished by the acquisition of Louisiana, the surveys of the coast, the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark across the continent, advantageous Indian treaties, the embargo and other restrictions on commerce, the trial of the

gun-boat system, the reduction of the navy, and successful hostilities with the Barbary powers in the Mediterranean.

Mr. Jefferson was sustained, throughout his administration, by Congress. He removed and appointed at pleasure ; displacing always federalists for republicans.

The leading measure of Mr. Madison's administration was war with England, which made our present nationality, established a system of finance, including a National Bank, revised the tariff on imports, and provided for paying the national debt. He made wise recommendations to Congress for the true interests of the country, and was uniformly sustained by the republican majority in both houses. Mr. Madison revived the custom of stated public levees at the White House, which had been abolished by Mr. Jefferson.

Mr. Monroe's administration was styled the "era of good feeling." Party acerbity had died out, and the people were absorbed in public prosperity. Florida was acquired by treaty with Spain under his administration ; the independence of the South American States recognized ; the national debt was reduced, and the revenues increased.

When John Quincy Adams came into power, in 1825, party spirit again arose more fiercely than ever before, and the opposition concentrated upon General Jackson. Mr. Adams was sustained eighteen months in Congress by a majority; after that, the opposition were in the ascendant, in both branches. The peace of the country, however, was not interrupted; commerce flourished, and foreign and domestic matters were well conducted. The attempt to get free trade with the British West Indies failed; but the resources of the country were developed by his policy, internal improvements advanced, and the tariff was revived. Thirty millions of the public debt were paid; five millions were appropriated to pension officers of the Revolution. Fourteen millions were expended beside, to benefit the country. Mr. Adams made but few removals from office, which, however beneficial to the public interest, contributed to his defeat.

General Jackson's administration followed, and will ever be one of deep interest to the people, and of mark upon the age.

Under his administration, the national debt was extinguished, the people returned to specie currency.

He refused to sanction a re-charter of the United States Bank, and removed the public deposits from its vaults, which effected its destruction. He vetoed Mr. Clay's Land Bill, and other internal improvement bills. General Jackson's friends claim that he arrested extravagant speculations, but they have failed to furnish the proof.

Mr. Van Buren's administration carried out General Jackson's views of the Sub-Treasury, and continued his cabinet in office.

He made but few changes and appointments. His administration was supported by a majority in the Senate, but was sometimes in a minority in the lower House of Congress. Under his administration, in 1837, one thousand financiers, merchants, manufacturers, ship-owners, broke down in New York, in less than three weeks, and forty thousand more throughout the country. Failures were thus caused to the amount of five hundred millions! and involved the banks and the States themselves for several following years.

In this great reversion of trade and finance, the social calamity of the country was unparalleled. The wealthy fell to penury. Widows and orphans, left with a competency, were driven to want.

Honest working men, who supported their wives and children upon their daily wages, were thrown out of employment. The savings of years were swept off at a blow, and the prospects of many were ruined forever.

Americans, you will reasonably inquire, What caused this financial, commercial and social revolution?

It was the mercenary spirit of Van Buren's administration, which had, for years before, infused its poison over the entire country. It was Van Buren's administration which made the first overtures to the political Roman Catholic Church. It was the shameful recklessness of his partisans to procure votes which caused the public plunder under his administration, and became paramount to commerce, finance, manufactures, justice and honor. William L. Marcy was the leader then, whose cardinal creed has been to plunder the public treasure, when in power.

John Tyler's administration was noted for vetoes of National Bank bills, and other measures on which General Harrison had been elected President. Through the energy and ability of Mr. Webster the North-Eastern Boundary question

was amicably adjusted with England. Texas was annexed by Congress, and its final admission into the Union as a State was the last act of his administration. A revision of the tariff occurred at that period ; and the Whig majority in Congress, with which he went into office, was superseded by large Democratic majorities, the last two years of his administration.

James K. Polk's epoch was marked by the war with Mexico, and the consequent annexation of California and New Mexico, the settlement of the Oregon question with the English government, the establishment of a Sub-Treasury, a revision of the tariff on imports, with *ad valorem* duties, a warehouse policy, and also the Department of the Interior was created. Mr. Polk's Democratic majority in the first Congress under his administration, yielded to a small Whig majority in the last two years of his administration.

Millard Fillmore came into office upon the death of President Taylor, in the summer of 1850. The Compromise measures were then passed, and the slavery agitation checked. California was admitted as a State. The Texas boundary was settled. Public confidence was restored. Commerce pros-

pered ; peace prevailed ; and his administration spread universal contentment among all classes of the people. No internal dissensions agitated the public mind. A large surplus was idle in the treasury, and his administration shed untarnished lustre over the whole country. Under these brilliant national advantages, Mr. Fillmore left the presidential office, followed by the respect, confidence, and gratitude of the American people, who had reason to bless the providence of God, which interposed for their deliverance, in making him President.

Mr. Fillmore came into power with both houses of Congress in the opposition, and calmly and steadily held the helm of the government, unaided by that prestige.

And now, Americans, in taking this hasty but authentic survey of the several administrations of the general government, you cannot but remark how much the character of the *man* has to do with that of his administration.

Take the social, moral, intellectual, and political character of Washington, as he entered upon the government ; dwell upon the actions of his administration ; compare its results and bearings, while he looked abroad, to the protection of all the

interests and rights of the people. Follow on successively to Fillmore, and judge who possesses more suitable qualifications, more personal integrity, higher sense of national honor and patriotism, to fill the elevated office, after Washington, of the chief magistrate of the nation. The name of Fillmore will adorn the page of our American history, and be transmitted to posterity as one of the most successful and illustrious successors of Washington.

On the 4th of March, 1853, when Franklin Pierce assumed the government of these United States, the whole world was at peace. England, France, Austria, and Prussia, were quiet. Hungary had been split in pieces, and was prostrate. Italy was lying unresistingly at the feet of the papal throne. Nicholas was studying the expansiveness of Anglo-American liberty ; and nothing remained to remind Europe of the convulsions of '48 and '9 but some pending negotiations between the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar. In Asia there was the same still monotony. In Africa, Liberia was flourishing under practical Christian benevolence ; though England had demonstrated her hypocrisy by assaulting Algiers, silencing Egypt and Morocco, and leaving the Cape of Good Hope

to an intestine war. In 1852, Franklin Pierce received the nomination of the Democratic Baltimore Convention, and stood erect upon the middle plank of that platform as its *Union* candidate!

He had zealously labored to obtain the nomination, and, in a contest for the selection among so many leaders of that party, his friends had long cherished the idea that there was hope of the obscure New Hampshire candidate, upon the principle of compromise and the Union. Twenty delegates in all had, by stratagem, been secured for Pierce in that Convention, as a reserved corps; and for days before it convened in Baltimore, outside influences were zealously engaged in the attempt to swell that number.

In the mean while Mr. Pierce was at home, preparing to "surprise" himself by writing a letter, declaring, in the face of the fact, as his friends knew, that he was not before the Convention.

Believing he was honest in his love for the Union, twenty-seven states voted for him. And the people rendered a verdict in favor of Democracy unparalleled since the days of Mr. Monroe; giving Franklin Pierce 254 electoral votes out of the 296 which were then cast for the Presidency!

Never, since the Declaration of Independence, had the Union numbered so many adherents; and even the opponents of Mr. Pierce acquiesced, on the ground that it was a glorious decision of the American people, not for Franklin Pierce, but for the Union and the compromise upon which he had been elected. They had nailed our flag to the mast of liberty, and it floated gracefully in the national breeze. On the 4th of March, 1853, Mr. Pierce assumed the official duties of Chief Magistrate of the United States. The people honestly believed that it was *their* sovereign voice that had called him to that post. But Mr. Pierce, who knew more of the particulars of his own nomination and election, and the fraud which had secured both, attributed his success mainly to the *foreign* vote of the Roman Catholic Church, for which he had most unscrupulously sold himself to secure his election. For this purpose, he received the aid of his adroit friend, Hon. James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania, who made the bargain with the foreign hierarchy, and is now the so-called Democratic candidate for the succession.

When Mr. Pierce was called upon by the Chief Justice to swear "to preserve, protect, and defend

the Constitution," it is said he discarded the time-honored fashion of all our former Presidents, and said, "I solemnly affirm;" and instead of reverently kissing the Blessed Word, as all his predecessors had done, he merely raised his right hand and held it aloft, in the presence of the spectators, until the pledge was given. Thus his first act was an obsequiousness to the Romish hierarchy, to propitiate which he insulted the feelings of Protestants, who regard as sacred God's eternal Book.

But the nation was jubilant with joy. His inaugural was filled to overflowing with love for the Union. He announced that every citizen should be protected, from one end of it to the other; that on every sea and on every soil where our enterprise might rightfully carry the American flag, there American citizenship should be an inviolable pledge for the security of American rights. He pledged himself to the doctrine that while national expansion was inherent to our existence as a nation, it was only to be accomplished in accordance with good faith and national honor; and was, therefore, opposed to any unlawful attempt to seize Cuba by force, however desirable its acqui-

sition. He declared, as a fundamental principle, that American rights rejected all foreign colonization on this side of the Atlantic. He spoke of the army and navy, and of the great reserve of the national militia, as sacredly to be cherished. He declared that integrity and rigid economy should be the watchwords in all the departments of the government ; that the offices of the country should be considered solely in reference to the duty to be performed ; that good citizens who filled them might expect, and should claim, the benefit of his government ; that he had no implied engagements to ratify, no resentments to remember, no personal wishes to consult, in his selections for office ; and therefore the people must not recognize any claim to office for having voted for him ! He announced two great principles of constitutional doctrine, on the rights of the states separately, and their common rights under the Constitution. He declared it the duty of each one of the states to respect the rights of every one of the states, and citizens thereof, and the obligations of the general government to protect these. He affirmed it as his solemn *creed*, and with an air of assumed energy and boldness, that involuntary servitude, as it existed in

different sections of the Union, was an admitted constitutional right ; and that the Compromise laws were to be kept inviolate in the spirit of national fraternity between the North and the South. He declared this to be the *test* of loyalty to the American Union. In a word, Pierce entered the presidency pledged to principles on which the Union was founded ; pledged to the compromises of the constitution ; pledged to protect American citizens in all their rights and privileges ; pledged to go for an extension of our republic only when it could be done in an honorable way, and at a proper time ; pledged to retrenchment and reform in all the departments of the government ; pledged to protect all the governmental officials who were faithful to the duties of their office, without regard to party considerations. But, in spite of all these promises of the inaugural, our republic, the great safeguard of democratic freedom, soon felt the pressure of faithless fratricidal hands. The Union again became the common battle-ground. The altar fires were kindled by agitation and civil discord. The *canker* at the root of our domestic peace became the curse to array man against man, state against state, the North against the South !

And the people soon saw that Gesler, or one of the Tarquins, would have been as well suited to head the American army in the place of Washington, as was Franklin Pierce to administer this government in the spirit of his supposed love of the Union, and on which alone, regardless of his want of natural or adventitious greatness, he had been elected to office.

His Cabinet, instead of judicious advisers, became his abettors in evil. The people tried to forget the antecedents of the members of his Cabinet, which seemed at once to portend disaster, and they silently acquiesced, without a murmur from their devoted lips. The press, which had been the great instrument of bringing the administration into power, still insisted, after it had been chosen, that Pierce was not the man "to keep the promise to the ear, and break it to the hope." At the North and the South, collectors, mail-agents, and the post-officers, disunion men were invariably selected; and the anti-American principle was soon apparent in government patronage at home and abroad. He sent Gadsden, of South Carolina, — who had advocated the dissolution of the Union, — as Minister to Mexico. He removed Grayson, of Carolina,

who went for it, and put Colcock in his place, who had counselled taking arms against the general government. He gave the consulship of Havana to Clayton, of Mississippi, who was defeated before the people because he went for disunion. He sent Trousdale, of Tennessee, to Brazil, who had been defeated before the people on the same issue. He gave Borland, who opposed the compromise, the mission to Central America. He sent Soulé, a French Jacobin, and a disunionist, to Spain ; and sent men to Denmark and Sardinia holding the same sentiments.

When Americans remember that it was from the rejection of Mr. Slidell, as Minister to Mexico, pending the Texas annexation, that the Mexican war arose, they can judge with what expectations Mr. Soulé went to Spain. A *fillibustero*, with fifteen millions, and war for Cuba !

Mr. Belmont, another foreigner, an agent for the Rothschilds, was sent to represent our government at the Hague. He was a successful financier in Wall-street, New York. And it has never been denied that he gave a large amount of money to elect Pierce, with the stipulation that he should have his present place to give the Rothschilds

certain political influence in American affairs. Belmont was ex-consul for Austria; and when Mr. Webster drove off Hulseman, that inveterate foe to our institutions, this foreign minister left Belmont in charge of his official duties, to act for him. It is a well-established fact that Austria takes the lead in Europe in conspiring against American liberty, in connection with the Romish hierarchy. Thus, without a single sympathy with democratic republican freedom, we are nominally represented by a foreign aristocrat. Mr. Robert Dale Owen, at Naples, a socialist from Indiana, who conducted a paper in connection with that infidel virago, Fanny Wright, was sent to the court of Naples.

The talent of the country was largely at the command of Mr. Pierce. He needed *men*, American patriots, to protect the republican principle abroad, more than ever before; men, to protect our citizens, and to see that their interests and their rights were duly regarded, and our commercial and political advantages secured.

Louis Napoleon was known to be watching and plotting against us. He had practised iniquitous exactions on American vessels, put enormous duties

on American produce, and excluded Americans from the shores of France, while we were encouraging Frenchmen to come to our own. Under these circumstances we needed a chief magistrate who had energy and spirit to look into these matters, — one who would insist on the reduction of tonnage, custom-house duties, and produce rates which correspond with those put upon their subjects by us; and in all our foreign embassies we required representatives of the first respectability for talent, moral character, and intelligence, who would transmit correct information on all subjects which concerned the nation, that it might understand whether the difference was for or against Americans, — in short, that it might understand how America, in every aspect, stands ahead, by the facts and statistics.

It was not until late in July following the advent of Mr. Pierce, that a single appointed diplomat left our shores; the government all the while paying two sets of representatives. Kossuth, even, assails the administration for this, and calls it “a degradation of national dignity, bordering upon the ridicule, if not the contempt, of the civilized world.” For six months the “spoils” engrossed the entire attention of the administration.

Mr. Pierce was determined to eject from office every opponent of his policy — to allow no liberty of political opinion contrary to his own. He gleaned the states of every vestige of opposition in those dependent on him, in order to gratify his selfish mind. Not a fifty-dollar office under the government escaped his vigilant eye.

Mr. Campbell, the Postmaster General, had been a candidate for judgeship, under the first election for that office, by the people in Pennsylvania. The bar of Philadelphia, city and county, knew him well, and they came out, over their own signatures, and declared his unfitness. But Mr. Buchanan had bargained with the Romish hierarchy to make this man a member of the Cabinet, on which condition the Jesuits had promised to make him successor to Pierce ; and hence all the true and good men of Pennsylvania were set aside to make way for this Jesuit to fill the high and responsible office of Postmaster General. When the Democrats of Pennsylvania heard it, they addressed a letter to Pierce, and earnestly remonstrated ; but he had been guided by Buchanan's dictation ; the Pope had signified acceptance of his appointment ; and not the united voice of the

Democracy in all the States, or Mr. Pierce's wish to the contrary, could then have prevented it. In spite of his incompetency, Campbell was appointed by Mr. Pierce to satisfy the Roman Catholic Church. The political value of every post-office in this country was then sought out, and laid before Campbell, by his agents, who were sent into the states when the office was too obscure to bring the applicant to Washington. To be opposed to the American creed, and to act out Popish bigotry, have been the cardinal principles on which he started into office; thus establishing a system of espionage upon all the mailable matter of the American people, in exact conformity with the established usage of the Roman Catholic countries of Europe.

In the custom-houses, weighers, gaugers, tide-waiters, messengers, and watchmen, were required to be true to Mr. Pierce, and were removed for loyalty to the Union and the American policy. The New York collector was addressed by official letter, from the Secretary of the Treasury, interfering with the politics of that state, and requiring him to provide for the especial friends of the administration. This called forth popular indig-

nation over the land. And Mr. Bronson, acting out the independence of an American, was displaced from office. This same financier, at the head of the Treasury, declared that "no man stood, at that day, so high before the American people as Mr. Pierce, save and except one, the immortal Washington!" This sycophancy was a subject of perfect ridicule to the American people.

The energy and enterprise of our merchants have built up foreign commerce. They have augmented our imports and exports, and opened new channels of communication for our benefit. They are best fitted for the revenue and postal service of the country, but they have been always overlooked, under this administration, for politicians without standing or eminence. The diplomatists abroad have been, and are, under this administration, men generally of this class, both ministers and consulates. The latter, except at Liverpool and Havana and a few other places, are so inadequately paid by fees, that their time is given to private enterprise and speculation for personal advantage, while the commerce of the country is almost totally neglected. Italians, Irish, Germans, Frenchmen, have been largely

benefited by this class of appointments, under Mr. Pierce, to the detriment of the country. Small men, everywhere, were put into office; men who "spat upon the platform," like the President, and yet called it the gospel of their political faith.

In less than twenty days after Mr. Pierce went into office, he was declared the vacillating tool of his Cabinet, who governed instead of advised, directed instead of consulted him. On the 30th of November, nine months after he swore, before God and his country, to sustain the compromise measures of 1850, which gave immortality to Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, he publicly ignored them, through the columns of the "*Union*," his organ at Washington; and declared that the course of this government would *not* be in accordance with the "laws of adjustment" of 1850! That compact which had been, in the judgment of the country, above party, above intrigue, above political bargaining, and solemnly held sacred, had been ridiculed, despised, and set aside, and the flood-gates of turmoil and political contention opened again all over the land! What contrition, what confession, what penance, can cover this iniquity and wipe out this foul stigma of Franklin Pierce? He

gave our secrets to our enemies, and then parted with our national honor ! This is a deep and burning shame ! Contemning the moral sentiments of the country by which he was elevated, he thus counteracted all the fruits of Mr. Clay's patriotism, and that of his associates in 1850. And all moral obligation of the government being now repudiated, it had no other acknowledged principle than that of public plunder.

Before the next meeting of Congress an article appeared in Mr. Pierce's organ, which threatened the action of the Senate on his appointments ; and declared to the senators that except a vote for *rejection* was given on valid, sound, and tenable grounds, "*they should have reason for personal and political regret forever.*" For the first time in our national history were senators of Congress ever menaced by a President ! Louis Napoleon of France, nor Victoria of England, could dare to do so much ! It was not enough to interfere with the local politics of the free states through his cabinet, nor to remove every postmaster who loved the Union ; but by a complicity between the President and his *Union* organ, he defies and threatens the very men whom the constitution

empowers to pass sentence on his acts, and without whose concurrence the most of these acts would be nullities. It had a degree of absolutism which belonged only to the Bey of Tunis, or the Roman hierarchy; for nothing like it ever before emanated from an American President, or an independent press.

Congress met in December, 1853, with very large democratic majorities in both houses, reaching one hundred in the House of Representatives. The Clerk was, therefore, selected to suit the President's choice. The outside influence was unusually great, and the contingent fees of several hundred thousand dollars at the discretion of the Clerk was at least a circumstance, at that period.

The Doge of Venice, by custom, marries that city to the sea; but the sea rolls as free as before. So the people who had cast their votes for Pierce were not to be bound by the ceremony of the act of his election, and they no longer felt it an obligation to support his administration. They saw he had got in on a false issue; that he was an embodied falsehood, and nothing more. Proof was now adduced which fixed another item of fact in Mr. Pierce's history, viz., that he had sympathiz^{ed}

with the election of Martin Van Buren, in 1848, instead of General Cass, the nominee of the party to which he professed attachment. — That he did write a letter in reply to an invitation to attend a convention of Van Buren's friends, in New York, favorable to his election, which was in the hands of an office-holder, and was known to the public as the *scarlet* letter, on account of its treachery. — That the parties, being in office under Mr. Pierce, were delicately situated, and, while they confessed to the fact, did not expose it. — And that, not one only, but various letters were acknowledged to exist of the same import; while the "Patriot," Mr. Pierce's organ in New Hampshire, and known to reflect his sentiments, had steadily opposed the Compromise, until it was about to be made the law of the land.

The whole course of Mr. Pierce was an open and full confession that he had not the moral honesty or the physical courage to stand to the principles on which he was elected.

At a time when, to prevent the absorption of Turkey by Russia, we needed a man of power to speak the sentiments of the United States, and to establish a new Christian power at Constantinople,

a third-rate Baltimore lawyer was sent to represent our government. At China, too, we wanted men familiar with the detail of trade, and possessing an intimate knowledge of the condition of things on the Pacific. But, while we needed a representative man, one of similar grade was sent there.

Circulars regulating the dress of our foreign ambassadors seemed more to engross the administration than matters affecting the great interests of the country. Buchanan and Sandford alone followed the orders of the Secretary of State ; and, it being a novel circular, it attracted some attention.

The Senate committee on foreign relations desired to know what directions were given to diplomatists about getting admission in the costume of Franklin. In answer to Mr. Mason, the chairman of the Senate committee, Marcy proposed a repeal of the costume order, and counselled a "masterly inactivity."

In the face of all the gold from California and Australia, the credit of the country was soon forced by the administration beyond its natural bounds ; and the same havoc as that which occurred under Van Buren, in 1837, when the government was plundered by officers of millions, in the name of

the States, was seen to be approaching. The Secretary of the Treasury bought up securities with bonds of the government, which had fifteen years to run, and shipped the specie to Europe in payment of evidences of debt in that quarter, when there was not the slightest necessity, thus fixing an enormous amount as the price by which government bonds should be redeemed. Paper circulation increased beyond that under Van Buren, in 1837. All sorts of credit expanded. Imports were swelled from thirty to fifty millions. And by the mismanagement of the surplus revenues of the government, in connection with the abstraction of specie to send to Europe, came the terrible crash to credit, commerce, and manufactures, in 1854 and 1855, when so many honest operatives, men and women, were starving in the streets, and compelled to accept public charity.

In the mean while, sectional agitations were within, and foreign relations threatened without.

The administration, instead of advocating the use of money from the treasury, recommended land grants, and this has caused such plunder and spoil, such plucking and snapping up of the public lands.

The Gadsden Treaty with Mexico caused the

outlay of twenty millions, which excluded us from the rich silver mines of Chihuahua, and served no better purpose than to set up Santa Anna in Mexican style.

The distribution of the spoils, the appointments of partisans, and the interference in the local politics of the States to defeat the free will of the people, had rendered Pierce's administration odious, and surprised even its worst enemies by its enormities, when the Koszta letter of Marcy was written to make a show of its adherence to American nationality. This act of vindication was done *after* Koszta had been released by Capt. Ingraham, aided and supported by Mr. Brown. But the best evidence of sincerity in this declaration was furnished four weeks subsequent to that letter, when three American citizens, Wm. Freelum, Wm. Atkins, and Harvey C. Parks, sailors, were confined in prison at Havana. These three men sailed from New York, in the bark Jasper, on a trading voyage to Sierra Leone. The ship was diverted from its proper channel of trade without the agency of these poor sailors; and, to escape British cruisers, she was finally burnt to the water's edge. These three men, in landing for supplies, were put

on a Spanish war schooner, Habanero, and taken to Havana and lodged in Punta prison. The case was laid before the government at Washington in July, 1853. One was an Irishman, another a Scotchman, the other an American, but all citizens of the United States. But they were only sailors, and could exert no influence for Mr. Pierce's government; and, so far from acting on their case, the administration did not even *inquire* into the matter! And this is Mr. Pierce's inaugural protection!

Capt. Gibson was also treated shamefully at Sumatra by the Dutch. He asked redress of the national government in vain. "Is he worth protecting?" is and has been the rule of action. When the press made this apparent in Gibson's case, and not before, he received some consideration in his behalf. Again, there was Frederick Wiechee, a Saxon, who came to the United States in 1851, remained some time, and returned temporarily to Leipsic, in Germany, where he suffered imprisonment, but finally escaped. The case was exactly parallel with that of Koszta; yet the administration, who professed a will to protect the one, refused to interfere with the other. Williams

and Miller, American citizens, were defrauded and injured by the government of Granada, and Miller was imprisoned for claiming his just rights under that government. The matter was laid before the administration without eliciting any attention. All the above cases illustrate the value of the *promise* of protection in the Inaugural Address.

In the summer of 1853, Bishop Hughes, a political Jesuit and demagogue, had the steamer Michigan placed at his disposal at Mackinaw, which actually conveyed this foreign Roman prelate from place to place on business of the Romish hierarchy; thus using a government vessel, at the government's expense, to gratify the arrogant vanity of this liege subject of the Pope of Rome! It presented to the citizens and true patriots of America a most degrading example of the abject sycophancy to which a President of the United States would stoop to get the patronage of this intermeddling Jesuit, and, through him, the votes of the body of the Irish papists. A question arises here. Has the President a right to employ United States vessels, and the treasure of the country, for such personal and sinister purposes? No—it is an outrage on the rights of the people, and a gross

insult to the nation. The same steamer, afterwards, was placed at the disposal of the Pope's Nuncio, Bedini, who travelled with Bishop Hughes. He came with congratulatory letters to Pierce from the Pope.

The Pope sent Bedini, not to represent his government here, but to see to the church, and further its papal interests in the United States. To fasten on this nation of freemen its corrupt dogmas and despotism was the sole object of the Nuncio. Pierce did all in his power to facilitate that mission, and caused Captain Bigelow to dishonor the American flag, by publicly escorting the Jesuit butcher who had condemned that noble patriot, Ugo Bassi, to be flayed alive and then shot, for no other crime than a sympathy for republican liberty in Italy.

Early in January following the advent of Mr. Pierce, the "Nebraska Bill," intended to repeal the great compromise effected chiefly by the efforts of the illustrious statesman, Henry Clay, in 1850, was concocted by Senator Stephen A. Douglas and Pierce, and reported to the Senate by the former. The whole country, which by the previous adjustment of 1850 had settled down in peace,

was suddenly taken by surprise. No one dreamed of the compromise being disturbed, and that the triumph of Mr. Clay, and the tranquillity happily secured by him over the country, were soon to come to an end. This measure, so suddenly sprung upon the country, aroused a feeling of the highest indignation. It opened anew the slavery discussion and agitation from one end of the country to the other. It sundered political affiliations, and broke the old established parties of Whig and Democrat into fragments.

There were no Franklins, as at the adoption of the constitution, no Websters, Clays, or Calhouns, as in 1850, to calm the troubled waters. Pierce said, in his first message, in relation to the compromise, that "the repose secured to the country by acquiescence of distinguished citizens should receive no shock during his presidential term." Yet, the moment an undue sectional influence was exerted, and an opportunity presented to his personal ambition, he trampled on the high and sacred pledge of his official station, and thus disappointed the just expectation of the people, by disturbing their tranquillity on a subject so absorbing and agitating as the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

What added to the indignation of the country was the fact that Mr. Pierce changed his position from a national President to a narrow politician, and abused the patronage of his office by creating discord both in and out of Congress ; in encouraging his intemperate partisans, and bringing forward men, North and South, who labored to promote dissension.

The magnitude of our national growth, our territorial expansion, our shipping, our foreign intercourse, had been checked and lowered by thrusting men into power who had discredited us abroad, and injured our social position, and our country, in the eyes of enlightened foreigners. Men, devoid of political honesty, who could do mean work for the party in their own State, were sure to succeed. Office-holders have been made to do slaves' labor under this dynasty. Taxed to support the party and carry the elections of the States, they were sent adrift, as soon as any party defection was discovered, although without business or calling, and unfitted to compete with private enterprise. It has been proved, by statistics, that more suffering and want have been experienced by those "crushed out" of official employment, by

Pierce, than under all the previous administrations of the government since it was adopted.

When Mr. Webster was Secretary of State, he insisted that all contracts in a foreign land should be enforced by the United States Consuls, whether money, marriage, or business; and required marriage to conform to the legal mode of the country in which it was celebrated.

The certificate of our Consul at Bremen in relation to marriage was made in conformity with the Senate of that country, and was the only expedient the emigrant could adopt to meet the requisitions of the New York authorities. Without any investigation, the administration declared it good cause for removing the consul who had granted such certificates. This regulation was a judicious act of Mr. Fillmore's administration, to enforce virtue among the immigrant population who were thronging to our shores.

In one year we find Mr. Pierce and his administration condemned by the American people, with the exception of his particular adherents. He had refused to protect American citizens abroad; he had interfered with Cuba, by sending a foreign red republican to the court of Madrid, who

got into a duel about a coat, as of paramount importance to war! He had appointed an Austrian aristocrat to represent us at the Hague; and various other foreigners to personify our nationality before foreign powers, and declare this nation's mission; besides scores of domestic politicians, without character, learning, or manners. He had deliberately abjured the compromise laws, and declared that his government would not abide the work which Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and that host of worthies, in 1850, had wisely framed to give peace and permanence to the Union. He had threatened the Senate of the United States with his official vengeance if they dared to reject his appointments to office. He had been proved to have been, five years before his election, an enemy to the political party which elected him, by supporting Van Buren in the place of General Cass, the nominee of the Democratic party. And he selected for office the three men who had constituted the committee, held in the city of New-York, in 1848, to aid the election of Martin Van Buren.

He had made Van Buren's administration, called the "Spoils Cabinet," the model for imitation; having Van Buren's old leader as Secretary of

State, to provide for his particular friends and dispute about the plunder. He imitated that "Spoils Cabinet" in extravagant expenditures of the government, and in appointing an inexperienced financier as Secretary of the Treasury; the effect of which was, the terrible crush to credit, commerce, and labor of the country, in '54 and '55.

At a time when these and the social condition of the country were in peril, Mr. Guthrie inflicted a blow upon the nation by buying up, to an unexampled amount, the securities of the government, and sending the specie to Europe. The issuing of millions upon millions of bonds, without a basis of payment, was what caused England's terrible revulsion in 1825, and which should have been a warning to our government. Our relations with Mexico, our relations with Spain, the fishery question, were all set aside by the administration to practise its political sagacity in the local politics of the several States. The versatile genius of Mr. Cushing, the Attorney General, who had shifted from the Whigs to John Tyler, from Tyler to the Coalitionists, and from them to Pierce, was employed to interfere with the politics of Mississippi as well as those of Massachusetts; and this polit-

ical interference he called an "administration measure," to defeat the Union candidate. A similar action occurred to secure disunion leaders in Georgia and Alabama. In New York, it had removed an honorable and high-minded collector for having selected men to fill offices under him who were true to the Union. This brought down the denunciation of her Dickinson, her Maurice, her Cooley, and other distinguished patriots.

In the forty or fifty thousand offices of the country Mr. Pierce has made loyalty to the administration the sole test of merit. The spoils of millions have been used to corrupt the country and foster agitation; and the nomination and election of Franklin Pierce, by the preceding course of his political managers, evidently proved a fraud upon the country, which had been grossly deceived.

Worthless Mexican treaties, absorbing millions of money, were wantonly made by the administration. It created the most extraordinary plunder among the public lands, by recommending land grants. A clerk in the lower house of Congress was appointed through the especial dictation of Mr. Pierce. In fine, those who entertained the

views of the foreign-hearted executive, or acknowledged the supreme power of the Pope of Rome, and would secure the votes of his Irish subjects, were the sure favorites of Mr. Pierce and his administration. The press of the country soon deserted the man who had deserted his principles.

Pliny, while looking at the agitation of Vesuvius, and disregarding the danger, was overwhelmed alive, with the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. So when, at the close of the first year of the Pierce administration, the lava of political misrule and ruin having begun to overspread the land, Pierce looked upon the eruption unconscious of the danger to himself, or the magnitude of the mischief and evils he had brought upon his indignant and deceived countrymen. As if a blasting sirocco had swept over the land, or an earthquake had shaken it, noise and civil discord were rampant, and agitation and confusion shook the very foundations of the White House. But, amid this murky atmosphere, the roaring thunder of a people outraged, the lightning flash which might terrify any but a neophyte or political automaton, there stood one man

listless and unmoved, reproved, rebuked, with the kindling curses of a nation around and upon him, and a responsibility so awful that it might overwhelm an angel, — and that man was Pierce.

CHAPTER II.

THE SECOND YEAR OF PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

ON the 20th of August, 1847, Gen. Scott defeated the Mexicans before the gates of the capital, in a bloody battle, and expelled them. Santa Anna asked for an armistice, and it was granted for seven days by Scott. The perfidious dictator, Santa Anna, deserved no such magnanimity from Americans ; and the battles of Chapultepec, Molino del Rey, and the Garitas, were the bloody price of such concessions. So, now, while recurring to the train of evils which Franklin Pierce has brought upon the country, we cannot wipe out the dark stain which he has put upon our national honor ; nor can we refrain from holding him and his advisers to strict and awful responsibility for those deeds of mal-administration which have filled with indignation every lover of his country. And, recurring to Santa Anna, it is our solemn duty to warn the people against the example of his

treachery, and urging them not to cease hostilities against the heinous acts and dangerous policy of this administration. Let our countrymen improve the bitter experience, through which they have passed and are passing, to save the Union and the land from all the horrors of an intestine war.

Less than one year had fully demonstrated the irreparable error of the American people in electing a man as their chief magistrate, without character or antecedents. No high sense of honor, no principle of action, controlled the policy of his administration. Aliens and leaders of treacherous factions, who compose the influential corps around the executive, have given power to agitation, and, in the room of a patriotic love of country, have substituted the degrading affinities of grovelling speculators.

After the scarlet letter was found out, and it had passed into history that the President had written two sets of letters, — one for the North and another for the South, — he announced through his organ at Washington, that all office-holders must support the “Nebraska Bill,” which would be made the test of Democracy! He did this to appease the South, when, in fact, the South never demanded

nor desired the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. When the New Hampshire elections were about to take place, the policy shifted ; but his friends and neighbors were no longer deceived in the matter. His native state, which had given him a majority of six thousand votes eighteen months before, utterly condemned his administration in the election of a new Legislature ! But such was his deficiency in political sagacity, he enlisted more ardently in the success of the Nebraska iniquity than ever before.

About this time the *Black Warrior*, bound for New York, from Mobile, with a cargo of cotton, touched at Havana on the voyage, where she was seized, on the plea that the cotton did not appear on the manifest, and forcibly retained. The custom-house officers had prescribed a convenient form of manifest, which had been used by the *Black Warrior* for eighteen months previous without molestation. The *Crescent City*, too, commanded by Capt. Baxter, on her trip to New Orleans, had been similarly treated, the passengers forced to remain, and the ship prevented from entering the port, on another equally flimsy pretext. A special messenger was sent to Spain to Soulé in reference

to the Black Warrior, but the people had not faith to believe that the policy adopted by the administration would ever be carried out. Then, instead of employing the surplus revenue to fit out a suitable navy, the administration were pressing Congress to give twenty millions of the people's money for a comparatively worthless strip of Mexican territory !

This single scheme, had it been consummated, as the administration wished, would have diverted all the surplus from its proper channel, and plundered the nation, to support the anti-republican principles of an ignominious Mexican despotism.

Among other singular coincidences which likened Pierce's administration to that of Martin Van Buren, was the fact that a surplus of twenty-eight millions was found in the treasury at the incoming of both these men to the chief magistracy of the government.

In three years, under Van Buren, that whole amount was filched from the treasury, and squandered among the States. Six millions were actually stolen. And the revolution of politics in 1840 exhibited the just indignation of an outraged people.

The aggregate amount of spoils in the first Congress under Pierce's administration was three hundred millions by the figures ! This, Americans, was the reason, in connection with the scarlet letter and other misdemeanors, why the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was cast into Congress ; which atrocious act has lighted a flame that all the water from Massachusetts Bay to the Gulf of Mexico cannot quench.

The loss of 180,000 votes in an administration elected by twenty-seven of the thirty-one states soon told its rapid declension. The Senate administered its rebuke by rejecting the Gadsden treaty, the offspring of the executive, and reducing the amount to ten millions. It was evident Pierce wanted to take twenty millions of the hard money of the people to supply swindlers and speculators in railroad companies in a foreign country ; and, at the same time, such was his inconsistency, that he vetoed a very humane bill for distributing ten millions of acres of land among all the states of the Union for the unhappy *lunatics* of the country, without taking a dollar from the treasury. This philanthropic enterprise for providing for the maintenance and welfare of 31,474 people, either luna-

tics or idiots, in our country, found the constitution in its way, and was cast aside by the presidential veto ; but no scruple existed for imposing burdens on the people to pay for the aggrandizement of a Mexican Santa Anna ! To appropriate money for internal improvements was considered by Mr. Pierce unconstitutional ; while, at the *same time*, it was quite right, in his view, to appropriate lands for western railroads !

Pending the difficulty with the Black Warrior, Americans, travelling in Cuba with their wives and daughters, were insulted ; and a party of these, riding on the Cero, were compelled to alight and kneel in the dust to a small waxen image held by a mulatto priest. But our American minister Soulé, being a foreign Roman Catholic, possessed no spirit to exempt from such degrading humiliation American men and women !

Soulé was instructed to lay before the Spanish government the demand for reparation in the Black Warrior case ; but the demand was made in vain. Why ? Because Calderon, who knew Pierce and the composition of his cabinet, had divested Spain from all fear or terror in the delay.

The people paid the first year of Pierce's admin-

istration sixty-eight millions on custom dues, and twenty-three millions more in taxes than were required to support the government. Yet not one thing was done to reduce the duties the people had to pay. In spite of the fact that importers curtailed their imports, and banks their credit for nine months, there were twenty-seven millions more brought into the country than the previous year. The administration would not allow fewer free articles, and thus curtail their power in the treasury. Never were the people less able than at that time to pay taxes on sugar, coal, and foreign clothing; but the committee in the lower house of Congress declined to remove the duties on these, to please the President. His financial policy was to admit articles of foreign manufacture *free*, which could afford to pay, and causing the absolute necessities to *pay*, which ought to be free!

At the very time twenty millions were used in buying up government securities at a heavy premium in the fiscal year of 1854, the deficiency bill, for the needful expenses of the government, had to be cut down one million! And this, too, when a treaty with a foreign Mexican potentate was made to please him, by paying millions of

money for a worthless strip of land, and the privilege of fighting the Apaches Indians on our own soil! — for by this treaty the Mexicans got a discharge from protecting their own frontiers, and left Americans to pay ten millions for the humbug! No government on earth ever before purchased its own bonds years before maturity, when they cost a fifth more than their par value!

A project to revise the tariff and reduce the revenues, was an ingenious scheme to cheat the people. Pierce would not allow fewer dutiable articles when two hundred and thirty-three millions were bringing a revenue to the government of forty-five and a half millions,— enough for all its expenses! The first quarter of 1854 brought the sum of nineteen millions. Still the battle-ships of the naval line were all idle at the navy-yards, and no appropriation asked for fitting them for duty.

Solon Borland's treaty, about this time, with Central America, recognizing Nicaragua, and repudiating the Mosquito country, was not even read in cabinet. And, the administration leaving Mr. Buchanan to his semi-official tour in Europe, to enlighten them on foreign affairs, turned its attention nearer home, and set about the election of

Mayor for the city of Washington. The administration candidate had the prestige of the Roman Catholic influence; and the American party indignantly rebuked the President's interference with the municipal elections of that city, by electing the candidate who represented American principles, and eschewed the foreign hierarchy.

Not one single press in New York sustained Pierce's dynasty in less than fourteen months after its advent! The Postmaster General, Campbell, true to the doctrine of the Romish church, was busy in restricting knowledge by trying to increase the tax on letter postage. To meet a deficiency of two millions in that department, the policy was attempted of increasing this tax, and reducing salaries of clerks,—a revenue accruing all the while nearly double the necessary expenditures of the government.

In July, 1854, the *Cyane*, a sloop-of-war, commanded by Capt. Hollins, who was enjoying pay and waiting orders, was directed to proceed in haste to San Juan de Nicaragua, called *Greytown* in honor of the British colonial secretary. Borland had communicated to Washington that he had been insulted at Greytown, and that passengers

en route to California had also been detained, and their property put in peril. Hollins, on reaching the town, immediately demanded an apology for the *insult* to Borland, and twenty-four thousand dollars to indemnify the damage done to the steamship's company.

The Nicaraguan authorities refused flatly to comply with either of these demands. Hollins then gave them one day to reconsider the matter, and they still refused. He then, after providing means of transit for those who wished to leave, opened the batteries of the *Cyane* on the town. Finding, however, the bombardment would not avail, as the houses were constructed of mud and palm-leaves, and altogether too flimsy, Hollins detailed a corps of marines, under Lieut. Pickering, who burned the town to the ground! An English man-of-war in the harbor remonstrated against this brutal act in vain. And the 12th of July, 1854, became the day of a glorious achievement, — the burning of Greytown, — in the annals of Pierce's regime. Greytown was, in all respects, an American town. It had been built up by American enterprise. It had, in 1852, elected an American mayor and common council, and proceeded to change the

constitution to accord with republican views. It had only a nominal dependence, therefore, on the Mosquito king, whom it was ready at any moment to discard. The opening of the transit through the country which Americans had obtained against British pretensions had caused the early emigration from the United States ; and, while Americans waived none of their own rights, as such, all the property in Greytown which was not in their possession belonged to people with whom they were friendly. The United States government had recognized the authorities of Greytown as late as July, 1853. It became enlisted with peculiar interest in its welfare, as being the *only* spot in Central America where civil and religious liberty had taken root in the soil, and where the laws were as faithfully administered as in the United States.

The whole conduct in this matter, whether as regards Borland, the authorities at Washington, or Hollins at the scene of action, is an outrage so devoid of all palliation as to demand the condemnation of the civilized world. Hollins had no more right to perpetrate that outrage than he had to destroy any town on the Hudson or Mississippi rivers. It was not only atrociously barbarous, but

the administration committed an unlawful act against that defenceless village, by making war upon it, which the constitution makes a sufficient ground for impeachment. Congress, only, not President Pierce, is invested with power to declare war. Borland divested himself, by his conduct, of all official prestige, and ought to have been punished on the spot. He had interfered with the authorities of Greytown in protecting a murderer against their efforts to obtain him; and when he pointed a loaded rifle at the officer of San Juan, he forgot his own dignity, and contemned the very authorities his own government recognized. The people very naturally disregarded his official character. It was proven, however, that no attempt was made upon the person of Borland, even when an indignant people surrounded the house to arrest the murderer Borland had harbored. Why did the administration select this defenceless town to make an exhibition of its belligerent propensities? For the very reason that it was independent, and cut off from the protection of England and Nicaragua. And, while the whole civilized world were sneering at the game of "hide and seek" which Pierce had played so long with Cuba, he caught

with eagerness the opportunity offered by Borland's misdemeanors, to redeem his own folly by the destruction of a defenceless village, "without the loss of a single man on either side."

Pierce's administration inflicted an outrage upon Americans in demanding an apology for Borland, and in asking an indemnity of twenty-five thousand dollars for a company owing all its rights and privileges to Nicaragua. And for the protection of the interests of this steamship company the houses and property, as well as ships of Americans, were sacrificed by this administration. And, after all, no indemnity was given — no apology made!

The especial glory of this act is due to President Pierce, Marcy, Dobbin, and their loyal employé, Hollins, who thus became the hero of the Greytown bombardment. With our fishing interests unadjusted, and at the mercy of British cruisers; Central America on the verge of ruin; France taxing our ships without law; Spain firing into our steamers, Mr. Marcy was busily engaged in giving his directions about *coats*! Finally, the fishing business was discovered to be too complicated for Washington diplomacy. So a part of it was handed over to London, retaining only that which con-

cerned the British Provinces. And the government made so good a bargain in this, that we admit their exports *free*, and let them *tax* our own!

News now arrived from Spain that the despatches from Washington, in the Black Warrior case, had been treated with contempt, and Soulé was near receiving his passports. All he had done worthy of record, in the mean while, was to fight one duel himself, and have another fought in his family! Upon the receipt of this intelligence from Spain of the Black Warrior case, the President asked Congress for ten millions to redress the wrong! When this got to the Senate, from the House, senators very properly wanted to know more about it. They bore in mind, probably, the Gadsden treaty, when Mr. Pierce desired twenty millions, which they thought fit to reduce to ten! This inquiry, then, drew forth a paper from the President, which showed no war at all, but seemed to want the appropriation as a discretionary fund, which the Senate, with a democratic majority of fifteen at the time, refused to place at the disposal of Mr. Pierce! The Mexican treaty, negotiated by Mr. Gadsden, was the only one which passed the Con-

gress of 1854, that of right belonged to the administration of Franklin Pierce.

The Japanese treaty originated with the administration of Millard Fillmore, to which only its accomplishment properly belongs. Pierce did all he possibly could to prevent that achievement, which has opened up this new channel to commercial enterprise. Mr. Dobbin wrote to Commodore Perry, in the winter of 1854, that the administration did not approve the purpose for which he had been sent to the Pacific, and directed him to return home immediately, and to send the ships at once to New York and Boston.

He spoke contemptuously of the effort to make a treaty with Japan, and said it would only result in our humiliation. This was evidently designed to reflect upon Fillmore and Webster, by whom it had been projected. Fortunately the despatch of Mr. Dobbin did not reach Commodore Perry in time, or the ports of Japan, sealed to all but the Chinese and Dutch, would *not* now have been opened by American men.

This order from Pierce's Secretary of the Navy to *stop* Perry from going to Japan, and thus to prevent the treaty, was published to the world in

the columns of the President's organ, the *Washington Union*. And, would you believe it, Americans, that after the policy of our American statesmen, Fillmore and Webster, had proved successful over that of English diplomatists, with whom they coped triumphantly, and Commodore Perry had made the treaty, the administration organ came out and claimed the victory !

The colonial reciprocity treaty was also forced on Pierce's administration. It began with that of Millard Fillmore, and in connection with the settlement of the fishery question, and was the closing official labor of our lamented Webster. The neutrality treaty with Russia was Russia's proposal through Mr. Stockel, the minister from that court. Mr. Pierce only did not refuse to accord with that view, in his communication to the Senate.

The footing of appropriation bills shows that millions more were granted by the Congress of 1854 than ever before in time of peace. In every department of the government increased expenditures were demanded, and the people's money from the treasury lavished to subsidize their free press. The Congress of 1854 was essentially a Pierce Congress ; and, but for the firmness of senators,

would have cost the country over one hundred millions! As it was, it escaped with seventy or eighty millions, rejecting the item of ten millions, which the administration asked without being able to tell the people how it was to be applied.

We find, then, from the records, that the treaty with Mexico, speculation in land grants, and the burning of Greytown, by Hollins, which the administration endorsed and passed to their own account, constituted its signal achievements in the Congress of 1854.

The English, French, and Americans, from Greytown, soon knocked at the door of Congress for indemnity; and the American people saw at what dear cost to themselves they had put a man in the chair at Washington, to meddle with business which did not belong to him, and then leave them to pay for the whistle.

It is well known that Millard Fillmore was the man who instituted an investigation into the Gardiner case, and pressed it to a conclusion under his district attorney. That officer only received for his fidelity and efficiency a removal by Mr. Pierce. In the face of this fact, the organ of this present

administration claimed this as a measure of his executive.

After the New Hampshire antecedents were exposed, the Atwood speeches seen, the scarlet letter read, Mr. Pierce was announced as the father of the Nebraska bill, and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was called a national measure! At another time, the coming elections required him to be less courageous; and his organ says then, he, Mr. Pierce, “only did not oppose it”!

Clerks in all the departments were proscribed, and required to sink all individuality as Christians and citizens. They were forbidden to hold or express a sentiment in opposition to the Roman Catholic hierarchy, which meant to repudiate American principles. Pierce proscribed Americans to give place to foreigners, and ejected them from office for voting for American men. Examples of this course of his political oppression are as thick as autumn leaves. God defend our country from ever having another man as its chief magistrate bound to propitiate the papal supremacy of a foreign despot! Pierce has crushed out Protestants for foreign Roman Catholics, until the land groans under the curse.

Grant Thorburn states that he saw Americans, who bore honorable scars in our battles, turned out of the federal offices in New York to make way for fresh *Irish* voters, who had been driven from their country by the Irish Rebellion. But, of all our Presidents from the days of Washington, it was reserved for Franklin Pierce alone to bargain with the Pope of Rome, who, in pledging papal votes through his Jesuit emissaries here, could seize the opportunity to spread his malign influence over our beautiful land, and augment the means by which he aims to destroy our liberties.

Mr. Kennedy was removed from the census office to prevent the actual number of Romanists from being known to the American people. To accomplish this purpose, De Bow, a Catholic, was put in his place. The advantage of that post being in the power of the foreign hierarchy, Americans can very well judge how it has been used.

On the 30th of August, 1854, Soulé demanded his passports, and fled from Spain. He had acted with so much indiscretion, that in less than twelve months he was compelled to leave to avoid the disgrace of a dismissal, which he apprehended, from the Spanish government.

The royal family had retreated from his familiar approaches ; he then turned to the Jacobin democracy ; and, that failing him, he rapidly escaped to Bayonne.

Mr. Sickles had been sent, in the mean while, to Soulé, with a proposal from the administration to loan Spain a large sum of money, and take Cuba for security. But Soulé had left, and better for this country if he had never returned.

Consider for a moment what a spectacle our nation presented to the civilized world. Borland shielding a murderer from justice, and causing the destruction of a useful seaport town, and a loss of several hundred thousand dollars to the treasury ; Soulé intermeddling with the private interests of Spain, and escaping from the country to save an expulsion ; Belmont, another foreigner, at the Hague, dealing in exchanges, and negotiating a loan for the Czar to carry forward his war with the allies. This arrangement was only saved from consummation by being discovered, through the French minister of foreign affairs, at Paris.

Others of our foreign ambassadors were engaged either in rendering themselves ridiculous by discoursing on universal democratic liberty, or

seeking subserviently to conciliate crowned despots.

While American nationality was thus figuring abroad, a meeting, principally of office-holders and office-seekers, came off at Washington city, "to express unbounded confidence in the wisdom, patriotism, and integrity, of President Pierce's administration." Prominent among those who officiated on that occasion appear the city postmaster, the navy agent, the district attorney, naval store-keeper, timber agent, organ editor, &c. &c., who, like faithful employés, wanted to add fame to the President's notoriety, which it certainly very much needed just at that time.

Soon after Pierce came into office, the term of Brigham Young, the Mormon Governor of Utah, expired, and Colonel Steptoe was appointed his successor. Young, with his fifty wives, declared he held office by a "higher law" than the constitution, and "defied Pierce to put him out." The "saints" all believed Young superior in power to the President of the United States; and they have not been mistaken. He set the government and the laws at defiance, and is there still! Instead of the administration forcibly going into Utah and

demanding the surrender of its government into Col. Steptoe's hands, it attempted a *ruse* upon the Mormons, which signally failed. A battalion of soldiers, commanded by Steptoe, under the pretence of going to California, were directed to stop at the Mormon kingdom, and seize an unsuspecting moment, after obtaining the good-will of these people, to secure the government. But this did not answer, and Steptoe was obliged to retreat, carrying off forty or fifty women! No more military have been sent there since, and no further attempt has been made to send a governor. Young, in the mean while, threatens the United States authorities against further invasion of his premises.

What a source of mortifying reflection springs up in every intelligent American's mind at this foul and degrading submission of the government of this great and Christian nation, in allowing all the civil and religious power of a territory, under the protection and care of the Union, to be concentrated in the guilty and licentious Brigham Young! By the criminal neglect of its duty, the government has for three years allowed the abominable system of polygamy, so abhorrent to the American

people, and at war with American institutions, to be encouraged and fostered on American soil.

The population of Utah has increased with extraordinary rapidity in the past three years, by the influx of foreign immigrants, who have been wheedled into this most stupid imposture, and most shamefully and egregiously deceived by "elders" commissioned abroad by Young. This detestable Mormon authority exists at present as the only authority there. The power of the government should be immediately exerted to check and subdue the further progress of this odious usurpation, and the dissolute practices which violate all laws of decency and morality, both of heaven and of man. The longer this anomalous power is suffered to defy the lawful authority of our rulers, the more formidable it will become. Our citizens — that is, public opinion — should force the government to end the career, and drive out of power this heartless despot of a Mormon, and save the poor, deceived immigrants from being ensnared into the trap of so designing a knave, and the country from the humiliation and disgrace of this bold and flagrant iniquity. An act of this character, by this administration, would have been far better than

to have been engaged in the destruction of an American seaport.

During this administration, outrages of every nature have been constantly perpetrated upon American citizens abroad ; and their complaints have been wafted to this government in vain. Spain, almost the weakest of European states, insulted us by every indignity. Mexico, the weakest on this continent, shamefully cheated us. Why did the administration adhere to *free* fish and tax *coal* by the Reciprocity Treaty? The duty taken from coal would have reduced it to six dollars a ton, and largely benefited all the people.

As the revenue of the country expanded, so were politicians now ready to absorb it. Forty millions once supported the government ; and can it be believed that seventy millions under Pierce did not do it? Bribes of all kinds came into vogue to procure stations under the government, or seats in Congress. Spartan firmness on the part of the people could not keep politicians out of the gold mines at Washington. Authenticated facts prove that as high as twenty-five thousand dollars were given for a seat in Congress, for a main chance at the treasury.

While matters were thus progressing at home, they still looked squally abroad. A minister had been sent to Spain for redress on account of the Black Warrior; and ships under Commodore Macauley sent to Cuba to enforce it, after it had received no response for so long a time that the public had become wearied out with expectation and anxiety for the dénouement.

Do Americans know who really prevented the case from being settled? It was Mr. Soulé, whom the President sent to represent us at the Spanish court. He kept the despatch, and declined to show it to the Spanish government, as the administration directed.

About four months after Soulé had been in Madrid, he visited Ostend, and left his secretary in charge of his official duties. In his absence the Secretary of Legation produced the despatch to the Spanish ministers, which stated the terms which would be satisfactory to this government. They were immediately accepted, and the Black Warrior difficulty was settled. This prevented war then with Cuba.

Soulé, thus foiled by the *honesty* of his secretary, caused him at once to be dismissed from the

service, by order of President Pierce; while Pierce continued to reward Soulé, who had not only omitted to present the plan proposed by him for settling the matter with Spain, but had also put indignity upon himself and the lawful authorities of the land. Brigham Young had not set the authorities at Washington more at defiance than Soulé had done in Spain.

The next effort to embroil us in war with Cuba was not less abortive. The report was that France and England had conspired to Africanize Cuba. The administration were again for war with France, England, and Spain; and we were to join Russia in alliance against them. Presently the English government heard of this ridiculous nonsense, and Lord Clarendon came out and stated that the negotiations between England and France were about their own business, and had nothing on earth to do with Cuba, Spain, or the United States.

In October, 1854, the French papers announced that a Congress of American diplomats, Buchanan, Mason, Soulé, Vroom, Belmont, ———, and Owen, were to meet for some secret purpose, either at Paris or Baden Spa. This rumor finally

resulted in the Ostend Conference ; and, after a season of the most profound secrecy on the part of the administration, the *manifesto* appeared as the production of the concurrent wisdom of the authorities at Washington on the one part, and that of Buchanan, Soulé, and Mason, on the other.

Pending the difficulty in the Black Warrior case, caused entirely by Soulé's refusal to present to the Spanish ministers the proposition of the administration for adjustment, Pierce, instead of acting as became the president of the nation, and instantly removing Soulé, proposed to send on two commissioners to assist him.

Americans, mark the absurdity, nay, the pusillanimity of that act ! The treasury was to be filched to pay two more men to go to Spain to prevail upon a refractory minister to do his duty ! In other words, the administration wanted to employ three men, at the government expense, to deliver one letter, which one respectable clerk, from any department, could have done just as well, irrespective of official distinction. Messrs. Dallas and Cobb, of Georgia, had been selected for this new mission, when Soulé again interposed, and prevented its consummation. Then it was that Soulé

called to his aid Buchanan and Mason ; and hence the origin of the Ostend Congress.

Ostend is in Belgium, and the countries that surround it are so utterly opposed to democratic liberty, that the merest suspicion would consign a man to the keeping of the police ; and any meeting favorable to republican views would have called the troops of the government to arms.

Kossuth, not succeeding in causing our interference with Austria, after eloquently defending the heroic struggle of Hungary, took passage for England. Cuba now was the bait held out by Soulé, Sanders, & Co. ; and Kossuth and all the other republican refugees at London united in bringing about the Ostend Conference. The whole world was excited at the announcement. Mr. Sickles was sent to Washington before its sitting ; and Mr. Dudley Mann, and Mr. McRea, our Consul to Paris, followed on, upon its close. All the light the people got at these strange sights was that we were to have Cuba in six months.

The Conference met ostensibly to adjust all our differences with Spain. Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé, recommended that the United States should buy Cuba at once, or take it some other way, if

Spain refused to sell. They said England and France were favorable to the purchase.

We here give the exact words of the manifesto to which James Buchanan, as ambassador to the English government, was first to append his name.

“After,” says the document, “we shall have offered Spain a price for Cuba far beyond its present value,—that is, one hundred and twenty millions of dollars,—and this shall have been refused, it will then be time to consider the question, Does Cuba in the possession of Spain seriously endanger our internal peace, and the existence of our cherished Union? Should this question be answered in the affirmative, *then by every law, human and DIVINE*, we shall be *justified in wresting it from Spain*, if we possess the power. Under such circumstances, we ought *neither to count the cost nor regard the odds which Spain might enlist against us*. We should be *RECREANT TO OUR DUTY* and commit *base treason against our posterity*, should we permit Cuba to be *Africanized*,” etc.

Mark it, Americans! Buchanan *first*, then Mason and Soulé, declare that “*EVERY DIVINE LAW justifies this government in WRESTING CUBA FROM SPAIN.*” Spain must either sell Cuba for one

hundred and fifty millions, or the DIVINE LAW requires Americans to take it, and not stop to "count the loss" to themselves in treasure or blood! This is the civil code and the religion of the Ostend Conference!

This was not all that Conference met to do. It was an inside caucus of Soulé, Sickles, Belmont, and Sanders, to put Buchanan on the presidential track to carry out the Ostend principles in 1857, which he is pledged to do if the people elect him.

In this unwarrantable proceeding, see our minister at the Court of St. James neglecting his proper official duties, omitting to settle the Central American difficulties, delaying the Reciprocity Treaty, and becoming a passive tool in the hands of a political cabal, composed of renegadoes and aliens;—this is enough to make the very stones cry out shame! shame! The administration, who coöperated in this movement, never meant that a political rival should reap the benefit; and, perceiving its own folly in the matter, Mr. Pierce retreated from that engagement as best he could.

The next ridiculous attitude in which we were placed abroad was caused by the refusal of Louis Napoleon to allow our Spanish minister, Soulé,

to enter France. Then there was another flutter about war, and the quarrel of Napoleon and Soulé for the alleged interference of the latter in some private matters, with which the public had neither interest nor concern, was going to involve us in a continental revolution, beginning at Paris.

Mr. Mason, our minister there, felt it necessary to interpose for our national honor, and refused to hold his mission unless Napoleon withdrew his order. Napoleon backed out. And after Soulé was fêted at London, he was actually invited to come to Paris!

This was quite a triumph to the authorities at Washington,—almost equal to another Greytown victory!

Our national standing now became so much impaired abroad, that intelligent foreigners were inquiring what had *become* of all the respectability on the other side of the Atlantic. Even the little State of Holland presumed to treat us with contempt. The case of Gibson was invested with a national interest, as in its decision every American citizen, and every ship-owner of the country, was concerned. Gibson, it is remembered, had been imprisoned in Sumatra, and escaped to New

York. He claimed the indemnity of one hundred thousand dollars from that government. And the administration directed Belmont to get it. Belmont caused letters to be written which so alarmed the Dutch government, that they gave up not only all the papers belonging to Gibson, but their own ! Still, Belmont being engaged in the Rothschild loan for Russia, had not time to attend to the business of American citizens. And when Gibson remonstrated at the injustice of the delay, the administration, through Mr. Marey, tells Belmont to “persevere in your demand, resolutely, but temperately.”

Why not have spoken out like men, and demanded the payment, or warned them to expect reprisals? O, no! What was the consequence, Americans? Why, Belmont sets it aside altogether — surrenders it — on the ground that the outrage was perpetrated under Dutch *laws*, which, however barbarous, we were bound to respect. And the administration, after all its proposed energy in the business, bows to the supremacy of foreign laws which had trampled down an American citizen, and left Gibson without even an appeal for clemency in his behalf to Congress, which was unable to re-

ject his claim. This policy of non-interference in behalf of American citizens whose lives and property were endangered every day abroad, and at the mercy of savages, was enough to bleed the nation to the heart. This gross delinquency, too, of his promises, after an inaugural which confidently swaggered about the protection of American rights, and a Koszta letter, written to divert the people, and make them believe Pierce had kept the faith upon which they elected him !

Thus from ignorance or personal malice our people have been made to drink the bitter cup they unwittingly prepared for themselves.

Two years had not passed before all the effulgence Fillmore put upon the country had been darkened, and nothing high or convex could be seen. A large party who had favored Pierce's election were deeply chagrined and disappointed.

In the European war we had been made to assume whatever attitude pleased our ambassadors. Mr. Spence put us on the side of Turkey, at Constantinople. Mr. Seymour, at St. Petersburg, on that of Russia. Abandoning the Monroe doctrine ; repudiating the king of Musquito, and then recognizing this same king ; sustaining the Dutch

against our own countrymen ; making demands on Spain, then backing out ; — these were among the doings abroad. Then look at home, Americans !

Our gold was steadily going out to England, thence to the continent, to aid the war. There was surplus money enough in the treasury to have saved the country from the terrible crash in 1854. Pierce was told that the condition of the country would not allow putting the sum of twenty-eight millions in the sub-treasury ; and schemes were proposed to place it in the commercial world to avert the crisis. But the administration would not consent to part with the money for purposes higher than its own sinister plans. Such, too, was its skilful financiering, that the Secretary of the Treasury was buying up United States acceptances years before maturity, and giving one dollar and twenty-one cents for every dollar advanced to the nation.

Twenty-four millions were being spent in purchasing twenty millions of the public debt, when the credit of the country did not need it. No debtor pressed for it, and it would not sell but at the enormous increase of twenty-one per cent. Four millions of money were then a useless item, paid when the people needed it at home, and at their expense.

The inflation of bank paper ; the excessive employment of bonds without a specie basis ; the European war, and the consequent drain upon European gold, caused foreign creditors to demand payment, and cease to loan to our citizens ; and so, in 1854, the blow came, which reduced so many to want and ruin. They who possessed capital in railroad bonds and banks found the dividends suddenly cut off, and themselves reduced to want, or compelled to sacrifice their investments. Thousands were thus made beggars, while widows and orphans who had been provided, by deceased protectors, with home and comfort, lost frequently their all. House-building, ship-building, railroad-building, all stopped.

Now, we inquire, who could have prevented that revulsion, and saved the misery of the suffering masses in 1854 ? Franklin Pierce and his administration. In contrast to this suicidal policy, to have seen smiling plenty and peace and progress in all the industrial and mechanic arts ; to have given a fresh impetus to our commercial world ; to have afforded the facility for pushing on our internal improvements, our railroads and canals, would have been far more glorious than to have been engaged

in making Ostend piracy a principle of human and divine law.

Merchants declared that all they wanted was time—a few weeks more—and they could withstand the storm. At this very crisis of January, 1854, when government refused its timely sympathy, there were idle in the treasury upwards of twelve millions! And thus the gold lost to the merchants and banks by the government exportation was the great cause of reducing their business twenty-eight per cent.

While the administration was busy in finding out constitutional objections to the noble attributes of benevolence in affording national aid to the unhappy class of lunatics, it was engaged also in the objectionable business of recommending land grants to *Mormons*! Had Congress refused to grant these, as it had a right to do, Mormon progress would have been checked, and Utah could not now be preparing to approach the door of Congress to apply for admittance into the confederacy of States.

Far better had it been for the President, had his constitutional adviser, Mr. Cushing, attempted to show him the fallacy of his reasoning upon land grants and the lunatic bill, than to have been hunt-

ing up precedents in France and England to justify the President before the country for an attack on Spain in her colonies. What must the world think of an American administration going to monarchies to find an apology for a republican President, elected under a free democratic constitution !*

But Mr. Cushing, who has been “everything by turns, and nothing long,” has shown a greater consistency in his ambition for war than in anything else he has professed. Possibly, his miraculous escape from the Matamoras ditch has had something to do in fostering this propensity. Every man who lives beyond his means breaks down. So every government administered on a fraudulent basis will reap the fate of its just desert. The prosperity and progress the country sustained under

* The original draft of the Ostend Manifesto is now in this country, and appears chiefly in the hand-writing of James Buchanan. The amendments, which exhibit the “highwayman’s plea,” the piratical filibustering portions, are written by Buchanan himself. Soulé deserves notice, however, for the conception of that conference, and was the first to indite the celebrated document, to make it clear to Buchanan and Mason what was to be done. But Soulé, well versed in tactics, saw that capital was to be made by giving Buchanan prominence in the business; and the old disciple accordingly re-wrote the manifesto, and in the spirit worthy of his accomplished master.

Fillmore was now strongly contrasted with the ruin and calamity which followed Pierce's administration. The year 1837, under Van Buren, was not more hopelessly disastrous than that of 1854, under Pierce. The agitation arising from the Kansas-Nebraska bill was deep, intense, and universal; and discredit and distrust, by the absorption of gold from the healthful channels of trade and commerce, in connection with a partial failure of the crops that year, made it one of serious calamity to the people. Was it strange, then, Americans, that the fall elections at that period should unmistakably declare your feelings for this administration? They did; and what then gave the people encouragement and hope, was the promise of probity and prosperity which the American party was able to make them.

About January, 1855, another case occurred of imprisonment of American citizens at Cuba. Mr. John S. Thrasher, of New Orleans, addressed the authorities at Washington in behalf of these prisoners. From personal knowledge he was able to give a picture of the brutality exercised towards Americans in Havana which should have fired the spirit of every patriot man and woman in the land.

He stated that their custom was to put Americans in solitary confinement for days or weeks, until they were mentally and physically enfeebled. An attorney of the court then enters, and propounds all manner of questions, which have no sort of bearing on the case, extorting such concessions as to secure the punishment of the prisoner. But, yet, with the Koszta letter and the inaugural before them, these Americans, like many others, were left to the savage ferocity of tyrants, by the government of Franklin Pierce.

Thank Heaven, we Americans love our country and countrymen still more for the spasmodic throes through which we have passed under this administration. It cannot take from us our energy and industry. It cannot destroy our magnificent cities. It cannot tear up our vast railways, nor make a desolate waste of our cultivated plains. And when the storm has swept it away, we will hold on to our principles, and prosper by our works.

The active propagandism and manifest destiny of Mr. Pierce's foreign policy, which began with court costume and ended with the Ostend Conference, was about this period discovered to have

originated with Mr. Dudley Mann, the late assistant Secretary of State. This fact was brought to light by the publication of the two remarkable letters of Mr. Mann; one on "Instructions for War with France," the other on "Court Costume." These were written from Paris, the 7th of January, 1853, to this country, for Mr. Pierce's benefit. After arguing the great importance of a treaty of alliance with Switzerland, which the Senate unanimously ratified, Mr. Mann gives an account of the states of Europe, their ability and power for war, as though he had the secrets of every crowned head in his hat. "Go," said he, "speedily to Gen. Cass, Mr. Soulé, and all others you may think advisable, and implore them to make a demonstration that will cause a consternation at the Tuilleries, by placing ten millions of dollars at the disposal of the President, for protecting our interests against foreign aggression, and to authorize the construction of ten or fifteen war steamers. If the Arabia makes a good run, this will reach you four days before Congress adjourns."

Now, Americans, you learn for the first time for what Mr. Pierce wanted that ten millions. The

Senate refused him because he could give no account of the purpose to which it was to be applied. It was not to fight Cuba, as we all supposed, but to carry forward Mr. Mann's diplomacy, by causing Louis Napoleon to become alarmed, and making an excitement at the Tuilleries!

A beautiful commentary upon American integrity and honor,—for a President to connive at so low a trick to declare our greatness before the states of Europe!

Americans have no reason whatever to be in love with the government of Louis Napoleon; but has that anything to do with the good faith with which we are bound to deal with him? Does not one sixth of our cotton go to France? Does she not purchase annually of us more than five millions of dollars' worth of flour? Have not more than four hundred of our vessels cleared for French ports in a year? Except England, British North America, and Cuba, our shipping is more extensive in France than any other part of the world. French ships come here in the same proportion. We take ten millions of dollars' worth of their silks annually, and five millions' worth of their wines.

More Americans reside in France than in any other place in Europe except England. But there is one remarkable fact, that, while the factors of France are equal to those of any part of the world, and the population is also ten millions greater than England, she only takes from the United States fifteen millions of our raw material, while England takes sixty! Why is this? Because our goods are taxed in France, and go *free* to England. We, too, admit French goods free, which makes the tonnage American ships pay in France *nine* times greater than we exact of them. How much better, then, had Mr. Pierce done his duty, and had this inequality and injustice towards American interests righted, than to have been following Mr. Mann's directions to frighten France by a *ruse* for war! How much better to have tried to get the duty off of our raw cotton, beef, and pork, and thus aided the interests of the American people, who could then afford in return to take greater quantities of their silks and wines! How much better thus to have served the substantial wants of the people, than, by asking ten millions of their money, to make them look in the eyes of mankind like a nation of fools! It was

no fault of Mr. Pierce that we have not been involved in actual war with France, more than Spain.

We find, in the same way, that the instructions to foreign diplomats, by Mr. Marcy, to have coats "with an American eagle on their buttons, and wear citizen's hats," was also the direction contained in Mr. Dudley Mann's letter.

Mr. Soulé now, finding the Ostend Manifesto rejected at Washington, by the efforts of Mr. Marcy, it is said, and against the wishes of the President and Mr. Cushing, resigned! He was naturally indignant at being censured for doing just what he was sent to do, viz., to try and get Cuba, somehow. His speech in New York, before he left our shores, plainly told the people the course he meant to pursue, and filled them with apprehensions and dismay.

Soulé returned, leaving most of the difficulties with Spain unadjusted. The Ostend proceedings had been kept secret, and the friends of the administration in Congress got it referred to the Committee on *Foreign Relations* in the House, to elude investigation. The Senate, also, though possessing the power, did not, up to the close of the session, exercise it in this matter.

Mr. Dodge was sent, with an interpreter, to the

court of Isabella II., to succeed Mr. Soulé ; and you can make your calculations, Americans, and see how much the Spanish mission alone will cost the government by March, 1857, in outfits and infits !

The homogeneity of this people and the peace of the Union have been hazarded more by this administration than by all the former executives since the government was founded. It is a solemn fact, that at the end of two years after Pierce came into office, there had not been one single object of advantage to the American people accomplished through his administration. Not one solitary promise made to them was fulfilled. If anything good was begun, it never was completed. Did he ever reduce the Koszta letter to practice when Americans were groaning in dungeons in foreign countries, and crying for mercy in vain ? Did not the foreign embassy refuse to adopt the costume after he had instructed them to wear it ? Did he not recall his agent for trying to make war on Cuba, after he sent him for the purpose ? Did he not encourage the violation of the neutrality laws, and then threaten punishment on the offenders ? Did he not refuse Capt. Gibson justice after he had informed

the Dutch he should have it? Did he not negotiate for guano in the Gallipagos Islands, and then find there was none there? Did he not make a treaty with Santa Dominica, and then keep the same treaty from the Senate? Did he not buy a desert of Mexico, through which to run a railroad, and pay ten millions of the people's money, and then find no route for a road upon it? The Sandwich Islands and the Netherlands present the same vacillation.

Now look at home, and what has been the sole mission but to weaken the integrity of the Union, to upset the Missouri compromise and create agitation and strife, and to destroy the American party because it rebuked his administration, and exposed his want of capacity and power to manage American affairs as became their high name, and because it rejected the Romish hierarchy, which, *de facto*, was the governing power of the country!

It was to put down the American party, therefore, that Mr. Pierce enlisted for Mr. Wise's election in Virginia, and compelled the patronage of the government and the executive force at Washington to aid in its consummation.

In February, 1854, the Sardinian government

sent a ship-load of criminals, fresh from dungeons in Genoa, to New York city. The mayor of that city very properly applied for instructions at Washington, as to the mode of disposing of them. And how was it done, do you think, Americans? By directing the district attorney to receive them as *exiles*! The spoils of the New York custom-house had far greater interest for Mr. Pierce's government than the receiving of foreign criminals on our shores.

Unscrupulous, reckless spoilsmen at home, with disciples of Lopez, English socialists, German money-changing Jews, and French and American buccaneers, made up the host which was to tear from us our well-earned reputation, and rob us before mankind of our national renown.

CHAPTER III.

THIRD YEAR OF PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

AT a certain crisis in England's history, the French, under the idea that they had become weak in gold, were chary about terms of peace. Mr. Pitt determined upon a loan to remove the fallacy, and in less than fifteen hours and twenty minutes, the subscription to a sum of eighteen millions was completed. This was called the loyalty loan, because it vindicated the people's integrity to their government. So, the American people were no sooner convinced that their integrity and honor had been compromised by Franklin Pierce's administration in the eyes of all mankind, than they rose in the fall elections, and signally rebuked him.

The judicial murders of Manuel Pinto and Francisco Estrampes, by the order of the Consul General of Cuba, in April, 1855, excited the indignation of this people. Estrampes was a naturalized citizen, and these men had every reason to believe

Mr. Pierce cordially sympathized with their conspiracy for liberty in Cuba. And there is the most indubitable proof that he did. The understanding was that those champions for Cuban liberty were first to strike the blow, then Mr. Pierce was to bring the government of the United States to their aid. It was all arranged, with Pierce's full knowledge, that Gen. Quitman was to take the command, and funds were contributed for that purpose. And therefore it was that he sent a secret spy to Cuba in 1855, to look into matters there, and ascertain from their resources, &c., the ability of these conspirators to sustain themselves. This spy became on intimate terms with Gen. Pinto, a wealthy Spaniard, and by their joint agency they formed a plan by which they searched into the archives of the Consul General's department, and there found a secret treaty. This treaty contained a guarantee of Cuba to Spain by England and France; and at once proved the folly and danger of any warlike attempt on the part of the conspirators there, or the government of the United States.

A large sum of money had been audited by the agent of Mr. Pierce, for this Cuban expedition; but when he returned and reported to the Presi-

dent that the democrats of Cuba never could make the first effort for liberty, Mr. Pierce desisted from the design. The subsequent letters which passed between the American spy and Pinto were found upon his person, and, upon this evidence alone, Pinto and Estrampes were garroted!

Commodore Macauley, on this account, was subsequently received by Gen. Concha with marked consideration. The want of administrative ability had now become the subject of universal complaint. The post office department was conspicuously so, by making the sale of letters and papers an item of revenue; and it is a notorious fact that bank-bills, checks, and insurance policies, were sold in piles of letters to paper-mills at the North. A Connecticut mill bought two thousand of these letters, by which all these facts were brought to light. In other places there were systematic thefts committed on mail matter, while political *heresy* was always good cause for stopping channels of information which might affect the welfare of the party in power.

Think of this, Americans, that private letters, misguided by bad management of the department at Washington, instead of being returned to the

general post-office and advertised according to law, were sold, in indiscriminate lumber heaps, to paper makers !

There has been a singular incongruity in Mr. Pierce's proclivities for war ; for we all remember, when an opportunity was offered him in Mexico to manifest an active love for it, he backed out. Nevertheless, the hallucination still existed that it was his military renown that made him President, as it had done Jackson, Harrison, and Taylor ; and, to insure his continuance another four years, he must get the American people into a general fight, as Greytown was altogether too bloodless a victory for the emergency. So, anything for noise and confusion, to divert the minds of the people from the true state of their case.

The sound dues from Denmark was the next belligerent demonstration. He could not stand fire for Cuba, because France and England were both in his way there. So he bullied Denmark, at a time when the king was alienated from his government, and their internal affairs were all distracted. And for what ? Why, only for a few hundred dollars ! For this he was ready to involve the country in war, in comparison with the cost of which, all the dues

in the next fifty years would have been but a trifle.

All Europe was paying these dues long before we existed as a nation. Denmark raised the light-houses and set up the beacons, and why was it so suddenly inconsistent with our national honor to pay the paltry tax? We have scarcely commerce enough in the Baltic to talk about, much less quarrel about. Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Jackson, regarded these dues as lawful, and guaranteed them to Denmark by treaty.

Now, Americans, mark the result of this new-fledged warlike difficulty. The treaty was about to expire, and, instead of a proclamation of war, Mr. Pierce sends forth a circular letter to the American merchantmen to *pay* the dues, but to pay them under protest! Thus there has been in every act an indication of savage delight at the prospect of war, but always, fortunately, with some balk to the gross atrocity.

The next serious foreign question was that arising from the enlistment of Americans for the British service in the Crimea. In November, 1855, the *Albion* of New York, the British organ, said this proceeding "had the sanction of Mr.

Marcy, Secretary of State.” The administration organ, in commenting on this, did not deny the fact, which was then regarded tantamount to an acknowledgment. A week after the British proclamation of 15th of March, 1855, was received here, the district attorney of New York was applied to by Mr. McDonald, the British consul, for permission to establish an office in Pearl-street, in that city, to enlist men to send to Halifax to join the foreign legion at Nova Scotia. The office was already open, when the application was made to Mr. McKeon, district attorney, but, being rejected by him, it was closed. The German papers also advertised for recruits. The instructions given in the cases of Spain, Nicaragua, and Venezuela, regarding American citizens, were now announced to British agents, by the district attorney. But, in defiance of this, another house was opened in Chatham-street, New York, and the enlistment went on with as much activity as if all the authorities at Washington were dead.

In Philadelphia, too, Hertz was in the same business ; and advertisements, near Boston, Massachusetts, called for mechanics and machinists for the same object. These facts were made known by

families whose husbands and fathers had been enticed away. With the entire knowledge of the fact that enlistments were being made in New York, Brooklyn, Philadelphia, and Boston, every day, under British employés, who paid these men to violate the laws of the country, the administration purposely blinded itself to the sight.

Mr. Buchanan was about to leave for home, having failed in the Ostend business and in the settlement of the Central American difficulties, when this new perplexity was added to his business negotiations. Lord Palmerston, upon being notified, stated that he had ordered the recruiting to be stopped, both in the United States and the British Provinces, and that the infraction of our laws had been innocently made. When this explanation reached us, what was the administration about, do you think? It was hard at work, Americans, to get up a ground of dispute with England, by raking together in a heap all her sins of omission and commission. Had Mr. Pierce done his duty, there would have been no occasion for any trouble whatever.

But this would not have suited the President's purpose, nor subserved his political aspirations.

When England received this despatch in due form, she was naturally startled. Seeing, as she had, so many flagrant acts upon the honor of the country passed by, she considered *her* concession most amicable and just.

To bring up Central America, the Dominica quarrel, consuls' conduct, and general matters, all at once, was enough to try her temper; and she directed her fleet to take position in the West India seas. But, as for that, what cared Americans? With our free covenant of progress, she might as well have attempted to draw Niagara's waters into her rural districts, as to have terrified us.

No power, success, or triumph, no badly-administered government here, can make us forget that the American Union is the only fortress in which popular liberty can be defended; and that here, where the land is baptized in the blood of martyred kinsmen, it was born.

Mr. Crampton, the British minister at Washington, made a mistake in studying American politics through Mr. Pierce's policy, and so far forgot himself as to persist in violating our laws in the question of enlistment, as was clearly

proved, in the trial of Hertz and others, at Philadelphia. He lost sight of the fact that ambassadors "are bound to respect the laws and customs of the country they are in," and if they refuse can be dismissed. And he so far departed from his sphere of duty as to become personally disrespectful and obnoxious to the national executive.

Had Pierce's government then acted independently, and instantly dismissed Crampton, after the English government (with a full knowledge of the facts) failed to recall him, the whole American people would have justified him. Instead of which, it vacillated and threatened in order to make an excitement for the Cincinnati Convention, and only dismissed him a few days before. It is more than probable that, but for that Cincinnati Convention, Mr. Crampton, with all his personal indignities, might still have been in Washington.

In the autumn of 1855 American citizens were murdered at Nicaragua, en route to California. It was a most violent case. A mother and child were killed in the cabin of an American steamer, from New York, while on the lake. Ap-

plication was made at Washington for power to bring the offenders to punishment, and obtain indemnity for the loss of property then sustained. Did the administration promptly demand this redress? No. Mr. Marcy's letter of the eighth of November, 1855, said "Nicaragua had no responsible government," and was in a "miserable condition." That, therefore, was the excuse for withholding that protection to American citizens pledged in the inaugural and Koszta letter. But, when Nicaragua was in a better condition, was the case laid before her government for satisfaction to Americans? It was not, because the original refusal was devoid of heartiness, and, as everybody knew, a mere quibble. With just as much reason, and no more, Mr. Parker H. French, an American citizen, was refused at Washington, when he presented himself as the accredited ambassador from Nicaragua, in the present year, while Padre Vijil, a foreign Romish priest, was accepted, a few weeks later, from the same government.

Now, Americans, the same objections which forbade the rejection of the first ambassador (had they been tenable) would have prevented the

acknowledgment of the last. The government of Nicaragua underwent no change between the periods of sending Mr. French and Padre Vijil. If it merited a representative at Washington at all, it did so when French was sent there. But there was a motive underlying that matter, which the American people now understand. The Cincinnati Convention was at hand, the independence of Nicaragua became popular, the people sympathized with the noble Walker and the gallant American legion who had assisted that government to democratic liberty, and the Romish priesthood in the United States, moreover, must still be propitiated, and hence the recognition of Nicaragua's independence. Take away the effort for renomination which Mr. Pierce was then making ; take away the fact that the Romish hierarchy favored the reception of one of the Pope's agents, and who believes that act of Mr. Pierce would ever have been consummated ?

For that nomination, too, he wanted a difficulty with Spain ; for that, he cannonaded Greytown ; for that, he made a little fuss with Holland, and would have embroiled us in war with England, on a point of honor. In this self-aggrandizement, he

purchased the votes of Congress to extend the area of bondage, broke down the Missouri compromise, and embittered the North against the South by attempting to introduce slavery into Kansas by fraud and bloodshed.

O, Americans, the nation is perishing for want of a ruler! We have no one to whom we can now look to arrest oppression and crime, by interposing the law. The whole policy of Franklin Pierce has been to dodge the responsibility of the Kansas difficulty, after he got the people into civil war. It was his infidelity to his high and holy trusts that has disturbed the peace and tranquillity in which Millard Fillmore left the executive of the country. Had Pierce been true to the principles which elected him, that peace would still prevail. Think, Americans, of your fellow-citizens murdered, your women driven to frenzy, their husbands and fathers chained, their houses burned to ashes, because Franklin Pierce, the President of the United States, did not choose to stop the invasion when it first began! He knew it all, but could not spare the sacrifice of life and property in sight of the Cincinnati Convention! Nothing but this pusillanimous conduct on the part of your

President, Americans, has perilled the safety of the Union for the fourth time, under the great covenant which makes us one people.

Forty years ago, the American people were indignant that Mr. Madison should let the capital be burned; later still, they condemned the disaster Van Buren brought upon the country, the treachery of Tyler, and the savage ferocity of Polk, in putting the gallant Taylor, with his little band of heroes, before twenty thousand Mexicans, to be cut to pieces. But what were all those acts, in comparison with these of Franklin Pierce?

Let the desolation of homes and hearths, of forfeited life and hopes, in Kansas, answer! It is the administration of Mr. Pierce that has caused "moral treason," "martial law," and "civil war," in Kansas, since the first fraudulent Kansas election. Franklin Pierce, as President of the United States, was the supreme law-officer over that territory; and it was his imperious duty to have provided a new legislature, which would have expressed the free will of the real settlers of Kansas, which would have satisfied the North and the South, and prevented the subsequent effusion of blood. Instead of which, he attempted to sustain the

fraudulent legislature, and appointed territorial judges who coöperated with the military against the manifest wishes of the majority of the people. This was all done to obtain votes in the Cincinnati Convention, recklessly disregarding of public indignation in *all* sections, so long as he got the sanction of a faction of designing men and unscrupulous demagogues.

Governor Reeder's testimony, under oath, tells a tale which sickens every true American heart. Mr. Pierce appointed Reeder to please one set of political friends, and dismissed him to please another. He said to Reeder that he cordially approved of his whole course in Kansas, but that Atchison, of Missouri, was inexorable in requiring that he, Reeder, should be removed. Reeder was then supplicated by Pierce to resign; and when this failed, he sought to bribe him by offering him the mission to China, or in some other way advancing the private interests of Reeder. Unable by any dishonorable proposition to induce Reeder to resign, Mr. Pierce then said he should remove him, not on account of dereliction from duty, but for land speculations! This was the contemptible subterfuge, Americans, of the President of the United

States towards a subordinate with whom he expressed himself entirely satisfied, but who, by his own acknowledgments, he was obliged to remove, to please Atchison, of Missouri! And mark the fact, in the sworn testimony of Reeder, that the resort to land speculations as the reason for his removal was done *after* the avowal of Pierce, in a previous interview, that he saw nothing reprehensible in that act, whatever!

For the first time in our history, has the military of the country been used to justify the barbarity of its citizens; and, for the honor of humanity, we pray to Heaven it may be the last.

Governor Shannon, of Ohio, was next sent to Kansas, who, in a short time, was also found not to answer the policy of the administration, which is to force slavery on Kansas, against the wishes of the majority of the people.

Why did not Mr. Pierce ask Congress for means to put down these violators of law in Kansas? He countenanced the brutality for seven or eight months, purposely to obtain votes at Cincinnati in the June convention.

And now, Americans, note this solemn fact, that Mr. Pierce has not only perilled the Union, but he

has inflicted a wound upon the honor of the South, in the repeal of the Missouri compromise. They never elected Pierce to do any such thing. They never asked or desired that the pledges and compromises for the peace of this Union should be touched. And, had the South supposed it possible, Franklin Pierce could no more have received its electoral vote, than Benedict Arnold could have been called to Washington's place after his treason.

Let Americans remember that this act was begun and consummated by a Northern President. Forbid it, Heaven, that a man shall come after Franklin Pierce who adopts and retains his views and policy towards Kansas!

Some may inquire, Can there be such a man? We tell you yes, and he is James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania. There is therefore a deep, earnest, general call, from the independent masses of this people, for change—moral reform, political reform, official honesty, in lieu of official availability! We have now but one man before us, as a candidate for the Presidency, who clings to the great, fundamental principle of the Union, and is honestly before the people upon the dignity of the constitution; a man of opinion, of enlarged views,

able to protect the rights of all, because he respects the will of the majority, and has an undying love for the Union of these States, and the imperishable glory of the American name. This man is Millard Fillmore, of New York.

Do you ask, Americans, where is the demonstration that the people, North and South, reject the policy of this administration? We point you to the ballot-box, which, in the language of Erastus Brooks, of New York, is "worth fighting for, and worth dying for." The popular majority which elected Pierce was more than sixty-three thousand, and every state but four in the entire Union cast its vote for him. Of these, two were Northern and two were Southern States. In the first year of his administration, he was in a popular minority of sixty-seven thousand. In the second year, it had increased to two hundred and twenty-six thousand. In the third year, it had reached three hundred and three thousand, nine hundred and twenty-seven votes! With this terrible reaction and condemnation by the American people, Pierce, therefore, was deficient for re-nomination three hundred and sixty-seven thousand, and in a minority of three hundred thousand!

In this condition of things, Mr. James Buchanan was put upon Pierce's platform, after endorsing the entire policy of Pierce's administration, and pledging himself, if elected, to keep it in full force the next four years. The American people, who have already repudiated it, by the unmistakable verdict of three hundred thousand votes, will have another opportunity, in the November elections, to administer a last rebuke, by refusing to accept Mr. Pierce's succession in the selection of Mr. James Buchanan. Thank Heaven, the American people can inflict a blow, through their free constitution, in a single day, which the monarchies of all Europe could not do in a century!

The official conduct of President Pierce in reference to the "Naval Retiring Board" is discussed, at length, in another chapter of this work. It is well to remind the people, however, that, of all the acts which merit condemnation, and outrage the feelings of American men, that, which has wounded the honor of and inflicted disgrace and poverty upon the gallant men of the navy, and their suffering families, is one of the most atrocious. More than five hundred American families have been most seriously injured by this unparalleled

tyranny of Franklin Pierce and Secretary Dobbin. Not only have they deprived the country of the services of men when they were eminently needed, to exalt our stars and stripes; not only have they aspersed the fair fame of these men, by condemning them, in violation of law, and without any form of trial — a right guaranteed by the constitution to the most blood-stained criminal in the land; but by that act the administration have deprived these men of the advantages of any other honorable calling. Do you ask how? We answer, has it not attached opprobrium to these officers as citizens, by disrating or dismissing them? Does not the fact itself imply moral, physical, or mental incompetency, in the public judgment? If these officers apply for employment in the merchant service, for example, what is the result? The insurance companies refuse to grant a policy to a ship in their command, because of this unjust sentence by the government. The education of these men compelled them to look to the profession as a life service, and hence the difficulty of attempting to compete with the civil employments of our enterprising business men. Athens starved her best men, and Rome neglected hers;

and this led to the ruin of those republics. But England votes lands, and the Queen bestows fine salaries, upon her military men. And in France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, despotisms as they are, there is marked liberality towards this arm of the public service.

It shocks the common sense of the people to see these freemen, who have defended our fortress of liberty on every sea and in every clime, ruthlessly thrust aside by an incompetent President, instigated by unprincipled demagogues.

The veto power, only intended by the constitution to be used with extreme delicacy and caution, and to prevent hasty or indiscreet legislation, which might defeat the free will of the people, has been used by Franklin Pierce with the same arrogant self-conceit that is exercised by the Roman pontiff. He has abused this high prerogative of the President, and trampled down the rights and privileges of the people with the audacious impudence of a Nero.

The French Spoliation bill, which passed Congress in 1855, shared the unhallowed fate of the lunatic bill, made for that unfortunate class of our fellow-beings. There never were claims upon earth

founded more in justice than those connected with the French Spoliation bill; and when, after years of toil on the part of the petitioners for redress, Congress at last vindicated the nation's honor, it was crushed by the reckless action of Franklin Pierce.

The Collins line of steamers, too, the pride of every honest American, shared the same fate; and, though the appropriation was afterwards made in spite of the executive veto, it remained in its power still to give the notice for discontinuing the contract. That policy of Pierce's government, to crush out American enterprise, and give foreigners the monopoly of the seas, as well as upon the soil of our country, has been steadily pursued towards the Collins steamers, until the blow has finally been struck by Congress, and the notice to stop the government assistance has been given.

As a nation we are daily becoming more formidable to foreign powers, and the United States of America is the only country whose maritime increase can compete successfully with that of Great Britain. Now, more than ever before, every instinct of national pride and patriotism demanded that these American steamers should have been retained and cherished, as the only line that can

offer successful competition to the Cunard line of English steamers.

Did the revenues of the government compel the withholding of this money from American industry and enterprise? Did public sentiment oppose this effort which has elevated our national capabilities over the world? No; it was in defiance of the will and wishes of the majority of the American people, that narrow-minded, designing men have been found to conspire with Franklin Pierce in the attempted destruction of our beautiful steamers. Had that Collins line existed in the war of 1812, the waters of our lakes and ocean would have remained private waters; and the battles of Niagara, Chippewa, and New Orleans, would never have been fought upon American soil.

Thus, in war or peace, these steamers should be made part and parcel of ourselves; — protected for the national benefit in time of peace, and securing our country from the danger of land operations in time of war.

O, Americans, we want a man to put down all this; — a man with a whole American heart, who loves his country everywhere; who loves the people and all their interests, and will protect, defend,

and cherish their commerce, their shipping, their manufactures, their mechanics, and glory only in their nationality. That man is Millard Fillmore ! We have all the materials and means for building our own ships, and developing our own resources. We can cast our own cannon, make our own rifles, bayonets, and knives ; and we have American men to do the work, in lieu of foreign workmen, whom Pierce has harbored, to take it out of American hands, for the sake of keeping the foreign vote, and favoring the Romish hierarchy.

While, too, Pierce's administration has been stopping the commerce of the Mississippi and the lakes of the north-west, by refusing to let the people have their own money to remove the difficult and dangerous impediments, the funds of the treasury have been squandered in purchasing pictures to adorn a committee-room connected with public buildings at Washington, at a cost to the people's pockets of three thousand six hundred dollars, and a marble mantel at five hundred dollars for the same sumptuous apartment.

Americans, you cannot afford this ! You cannot afford to tax yourselves and your children to please the taste merely of a capricious executive. You

foot these bills, remember ; and you have a right to know the advantage of these things. The cost of the machinery in putting up the public buildings at Washington, under Franklin Pierce's foreign administration, has been ascertained, by the investigation of a committee of Congress, to have nearly equalled the cost of all the buildings ! Every house-builder in America knows this is all wrong. Money has been expended in transporting bricks from New York and Philadelphia to Washington, at thirteen dollars a thousand, and then being so small as to take thirteen hundred to make a thousand !

Under Millard Fillmore's administration, all the jobs upon public buildings were done under honest, *bona fide* contracts. But Pierce abandoned the old contract system, and has employed mechanics and laborers by the day, in the post-office and capitol extensions. Now, what is the result of having men dress marble and brick by the day ? Why, they will contrive to dress it as long as a rough surface remains, no matter whether it is ever intended to be seen or not. So the rear wall of the post-office, which never can be seen by the public at all, is finished in a more costly manner than any public

building in the United States, and only because it has given encouragement to foreign over American mechanics.

In 1852, Walter, the architect of the capitol under Mr. Fillmore, saw the slowness with which men worked when their own interest was advanced thereby, and made a contract with Mr. Emory, the most experienced granite-cutter in Washington, to furnish it all at *one fifth* less than it could be done by the day's work. But, in the face of experience, and a perfect knowledge of the fact that the dictates of enlightened public economy demanded this policy to be retained, Capt. Meigs, the Pierce employé, acting out the principle of extravagance and folly pursued by the administration, returns to the day-wages system, and thus has caused more money to be expended on the *back* of the post-office, never to be seen, than on the *front* of the capitol of the United States!

Hon. Edward Ball, of Ohio, in the month of May, 1856, inquired into the prodigal wastefulness of the people's money on the part of the employés of the administration of Franklin Pierce. By the introduction of a series of resolutions, the enormous sums expended upon the enlargement of

the capitol were sought to be ascertained. The adherents of the President were greatly alarmed, and endeavored to suppress all information on the subject. But frauds of the most villanous nature had been discovered, and were exposed by the chairman of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. In the single contract made with Beals and Dixon, the treasury had been robbed of one hundred thousand dollars. This was perpetrated wilfully, because Mr. J. B. Emery, of Baltimore, with all the securities and obligations required by the stipulations of the "proposals," offered to do the cornice-work at twenty-four dollars and seventy-five cents per foot, while Beals and Dixon charged thirty-nine dollars per foot. The former gentleman engaged to do the "architraves over antes" at nine dollars per foot; but the work was given — no doubt for political purposes — to Messrs. Beals and Dixon to do at the monstrous charge of nineteen dollars per foot! For capitals of columns Beals and Dixon charged nine hundred dollars, Mr. Emery offering to do the same work, according to "advertisement" (*sham* advertisement), at four hundred dollars each column! Another enormous disparity was exhibited in the bid on capitals of

antes ; Beals and Dixon charging two hundred and forty dollars, Mr. Emery asking only fifty-eight dollars ! And so on, through the catalogue of iniquity.

The corruption existing in the department having these matters in charge was also made manifest. By garbling the figures, and by palpable miscalculations, it was ascertained that the "department" made it appear as though Mr. Emery's bid had amounted to three hundred and forty-one thousand seven hundred and fourteen dollars, whereas, in fact, it was only twenty-five thousand eight hundred and ninety-five dollars.

By the proper mode of computation — that is to say, according to the rules of the arithmetics used in our American schools — Mr. Emery had offered to do the work on two thousand five hundred feet of rough stone, six hundred and thirteen feet each, for the sum of one thousand three hundred and seventy-five dollars ; but the foreigners employed in the Treasury Department, according to the rules of their European method of computation, made it appear that Mr. Emery's charge was seventy-one thousand and seventy-five dollars, or nearly forty dollars per foot. The American arithmeti-

cians make the sixteen thousand feet of work for which Mr. Emery bid amount to eight thousand eight hundred dollars ; but the foreign clerks of the Treasury Department of Franklin Pierce figure it up to two hundred and forty-four thousand four hundred and eighty dollars. This was done through ignorance of the common rules of the American arithmetic, or for the purpose of keeping Mr. Emery out of the contract, and thus securing it to the government pets, Messrs. Beals and Dixon.

Thus the people's money is used to retain the reins of government, in order that a perpetual handling of the treasury's funds may be indulged. The people's money is used to secure the power of robbing the people, year after year. It was not so under the administration of Millard Fillmore.

But, in addition to the crime of robbery, that of a violation of the United States law, in reference to the plan of construction of the capitol extension, is chargeable upon the Treasury Department of the present administration.

Here is the law. " For the continuation of the Treasury building, three hundred thousand dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, according to the plan

proposed by Thomas U. Walter, architect, and approved of by the Committees of the Senate and House of Representatives on Buildings and Grounds, at the last session of Congress." Now, what regard have the men at Washington paid to this statute? Not the least. What are they, then, but outlaws—a pack of outlaws in the Treasury Department of the United States? Mr. Walter's plan has been changed by the superintendent and architect having the extension in charge. They have allowed their fancies to run riot, and all their dreams of "palace halls" are being realized at the expense of the American people, who elevated Mr. Pierce to the Presidency, and at the expense of some who had no hand in that sad affair. The plain front originally designed, and the economical plan proposed, under Mr. Fillmore's administration (the idea of the extension having originated in his term of office), have been totally abandoned, and a front of Italian "gingerbread-work" substituted instead of Mr. Walter's design. The elaborate and costly style substituted is of no consequence to Mr. Pierce; but the people will be greater dupes than we take them to be, if they tacitly submit to the robbery of *their* treasury

for the purpose of pampering the pets of the executive. Fifty thousand dollars, or one hundred thousand dollars, are mere bagatelles to the unscrupulous Pierce ; and he does not hesitate to sanction the expenditure of such paltry sums, for a single moment, if the *votes* of the influential contractors can be secured to perpetuate the so-called democratic dynasty. American democrats, however, will object to the perpetuity of the *foreign* democracy, on this principle of wasteful extravagance.

During the Fillmore administration the work of the Capitol extension was commenced, under the direction of the Department of the Interior (where it properly belongs), according to the plans of Mr. Walter ; but Mr. Pierce, to suit his own personal purposes, took the control of the work from the Secretary of the Interior, and placed it in the hands of the Secretary of War ; and this last officer at once appointed a *military* officer, the present superintendent, over Mr. Walter, with power to change the plan. Now, Mr. Walter is acknowledged to be the best civil architect in the United States ; but the Pierce managers, having in view the pampering of their own partisans, have seen fit to allow their man, Captain Meigs, to do

pretty much as he pleases in the way of nonsensical decorations and extravagant adornments. No matter : the people, who placed Franklin Pierce in power, foot the bills. American mechanics and working-men will "pay the piper," while they are rendered less able to do so by the admission of the cheap pauper laborers of Europe, duty free, into the American labor market. The difference of a million of dollars, between the proposed cost of the Capitel extension, originally designed under Mr. Fillmore's administration, and that substituted by Pierce, is an item of no moment. The people will be "*democrats*;" and as they are willing to pay for the glorious privilege of mingling with the Irish Catholics and the foreign democrats, instead of being *American* democrats, why, let them go on until they are tired of the drain upon their pockets.

But the cause of President Pierce's disregard of cost is evidenced in his sanction of the employment of any number of German and Italian sculptors, busily engaged in the manufacture of statuary, designed for the pediment of the two wings of the extension. These graven images are represented to be the likenesses of nothing in the

heavens above or the earth beneath, — excepting one of them, which is a model of a German working-man's wife, and is passed off as the Goddess of Liberty. This Italian and German toggery has been procured at an immense cost ; but American working-men will pay for it, by taxation. Foreign sculptors are the only ones employed under Mr. Pierce's administration, but American mechanics are taxed to pay for the work of these Germans and Italians.

Is this country worthy to be called American? Is there any sense or signification in the term America or Americans? Why not call it Germany, or Ireland? How many miserable, deluded American mechanics there are, who voted for Franklin Pierce, who would now be glad to be employed on the work of the Capitol extension! But Germans and Italians must be propitiated, for the sake of their votes, and Americans may starve!

Is it not true that the people should teach their representatives that they are not sent to Congress to vote appropriations of their money, from year to year, to be used by Franklin Pierce, or any other President, without limitation or discrimination?

Pierce's administration came into power pledged to preserve peace, by keeping down all causes of agitation among the people, — pledged to reform all useless abuses, and expenditures of their money ; instead of which, he has run up the expenses of the nation from fifty to *eighty* millions per annum, and kept down the internal commercial interests of the country by refusing the improvements which the people demanded. He has interfered with the domestic peace of the nation, and forced us into all the horrors of civil war. He has deceived, cheated, betrayed the people, at home and abroad. And he has done more to fasten the despotism of the Pope's political church upon the American people than the monarchs of Catholic France, Catholic Austria, and Catholic Spain, ever did together.

He graciously received the Pope's Nuncio, sent by him to enforce his claims to property of American citizens, and has cultivated the closest intimacy with this foreign despot, and with those aliens among us whom he knew, in virtue of their imperishable allegiance to the Pope, cannot, whether gone through the forms of naturalization or not, ever become American citizens. The day

a bishop or priest of Rome renounces allegiance to the Pope of Rome, that day he forfeits his right to be a priest or bishop, and cannot administer a sacrament, or exercise a single prerogative, in the Roman Catholic Church. Franklin Pierce knows, but does not care for this. He knows that Bishop Hughes sold his party the foreign Catholic vote, which elected him to the Presidency; and the future annalist will do Pierce the justice to record the fact that, while his administration is distinguished but for two original measures, the burning of Greytown and the court costume order, he has been singularly grateful for his elevation to the papal despot, rather than to the free will of the American people.

CHAPTER IV.

FOURTH YEAR OF PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION.

WHEN George the Third, of England, undertook to subdue the American colonies in 1769, and make them bow to the supremacy of Parliament, he sent regiments of troops to Boston, and had fourteen war-vessels pointing their broadsides on the town, to enable his commissioners to extort its unjust taxation; and, the more effectually to frighten the people into submission, the king's sentries paraded the streets, and compelled the people to have a permit from these red-coats to go to their business places.

So, Franklin Pierce has sought, by a similar policy, to terrify the American people now, by dealing with them as a nation of serfs. The only principle of action to which he has been constant has been that which intermeddled with the federal and state elections. For this he violated all the compromises of the constitution. For this he fra-

ternized political apostates of all parties and creeds. For this he increased offices and salaries in the country, and squandered the money belonging to the people, to multiply agents for elections in all the states. For this he perverted most shamefully the intent of the law, and turned out of the navy two hundred and one officers, without regard to their service or character, to make place for partisans and favorites. For this he has kept the nation two years out of a great national road to the Pacific, and compelled the people to pay for useless surveys of routes, in order to dodge the issue of committing himself to either route.

Americans, behold your country! Indian war rages. California, New Mexico, and Oregon, are the scenes of bloody action now, and the soil of Kansas imbrued with fratricidal gore!

Mormons are coming into the nation by thirty and forty thousand a year, and from Mr. Pierce's conduct in Utah we shall soon have that state, which has overturned all religious and civil authority, and outraged decency and morals, asking admission into our Protestant Union as a Mormon state! Nothing but the Kansas excitement will deprive Franklin Pierce of the glory of consum-

mating that act. Kansas excitement! Yes, Americans, it is more than civil strife. It is a dangerous presentiment that this Union may be dissolved. O, my countrymen! pause and consider for one moment the awful responsibility which now devolves upon you! Franklin Pierce has outraged this people; and his policy, to which his successor is committed, threatens to split the Union into fragments. Had he been but a man who respected the constitution of his country, he would have honestly and faithfully executed the laws, and preserved peace and unity to the settlers of Kansas, no matter from what section they came. But, thank God, there is given to this offended people one way, and only one way, of escape at this moment, and that is the election of MILLARD FILLMORE. If this shall be done, the Union and the constitution are vindicated, and the interests of this nation will continue as one people.

Let no false ambition seduce you from the path of duty; let no desire for political power or place ever swerve you from tenaciously adhering to principle. Remember the lesson Franklin Pierce has taught you, that to gain the Presidency by fraud, is to divest it of all its honor; and that it is far

better to pursue the vocation in life to which you are mentally adapted, than to aspire to that to which you are incompetent. Had Mr. Pierce continued in New Hampshire, and contented himself by an honest attention to his business profession, instead of intriguing for the office nature never fitted him to fill, he might have lived and died respected by his fellow-men. He would have saved himself the trial which has proved his moral as well as intellectual deficiency, and been secured from temptations to self-aggrandizement which he was unable to resist, and prevented the shock to the peace and liberties of this people which years cannot overcome.

My countrymen, if, on the fourth of March, 1857, the conduct and actings of Franklin Pierce's executive were certainly to end forever, this analysis of his administration would not now be written. But such is not the fact. And, so far as the party which nominated James Buchanan are concerned, they have expressly avowed their purpose to perpetuate through him the identical policy which has now brought disaster and bloodshed upon our beloved country. And Pierce's administration, therefore, are as anxiously labor-

ing to secure the election of James Buchanan, as if he, Mr. Pierce, was now before the people. Let every American vote understandingly in the next presidential election, and know that there is a perfect union and communion between the friends and supporters of these two men, Buchanan and Pierce; and whoever votes for Buchanan votes just as much to perpetuate the dynasty of Franklin Pierce as though his name were on the ticket.

Mr. Buchanan has endorsed the present national executive, and declares himself *the* platform which broke down the Missouri compromise, which compromise he himself assisted to make, thirty-six years ago, the repeal of which has opened the flood-gates of internal discord and civil strife in the land.

The platform of the Cincinnati Convention, which James Buchanan personates, if carried out, would lead to the inevitable degradation and ruin of the American people. It says, "The time has come for the people of the United States to declare themselves in favor of *free seas*, and a progressive *free trade* throughout the world." This doctrine is more baneful to the interests of the American laboring man than even a foreign war.

Americans, what is *free trade*, but taking money directly from your pockets to pay the expenses of the government, instead of putting duties on imported goods, which you do not feel? If James Buchanan is elected, you are to have equal taxation, which, allowing there are twenty-five millions of people, will make each man, woman, and child, have to pay three dollars apiece yearly.

Mr. Buchanan approves, too, of ten cents a day as the wages of labor! Think of this! The Cincinnati Convention did not consider the ills we now endure were sufficient, while the government is pampering foreign and domestic pets, and squandering eighty millions of the people's money; so it goes to taxing the poor to increase their burdens.

Americans, it would be better now to expend one hundred millions to elect MILLARD FILLMORE, whom you know and have *tried*, than to elect Buchanan. He may cost us our liberties. In the other case, the money would soon be returned to the people ten-fold, in the confidence and progress and peace it would bring upon the whole Union.

With a war within our own borders upon a territory twice as large as England, Mr. Buchanan

is pledged also to carry out the Ostend manifesto, if elected. Now what would ensue, Americans, if that were acted out? We answer, war, immediately, with England, France, and Spain. And all commerce between the United States and the western coast of Europe would that moment cease. This would stop all importations of cotton and bread-stuffs in Europe, and precipitate those countries also into anarchy and revolution.

The real meaning of that Ostend manifesto is concealed upon its face. It is deep, dark, and malignant; and, if ever enforced, it will be by making the American people wade through seas of blood! As we have already seen, it was the work of European revolutionists and American demagogical tricksters. They who called themselves Americans were mostly *foreign* born, with foreign hearts, like Soulé & Co. To this degrading business Mr. Buchanan became the pliant tool, because he wished to succeed Franklin Pierce at Washington, and was made to believe, therefore, this was the very best move.

It is the interest, aim, and wish of all true Americans to remain at peace; and, least of all, to go to war with our best customers abroad, from

whom we buy, and to whom we sell. And it is all idle to try to force conviction upon the minds of the American people, that it is their duty to inflict a blow upon any nation, without their rights have been sacrificed or their principles invaded.

We are already possessed of an area of territory only one sixth less than the fifty-nine states of Europe put together. We are ten times larger than Great Britain and France, and one and a half times larger than Russia in Europe. Hence we have no occasion for getting into war to acquire more territory, for many years to come. Better far to be making treaties, to send our Protestant Bible, our tracts and missionaries, to enlighten Mexico's eight millions of benighted papists, and other countries upon this continent, than to bring a population of ignorant paupers and criminals, who could never appreciate our Anglo-American liberty, under the ægis of American laws.

Now, my countrymen, you see, precisely, what you have to expect by perpetuating the democratic executive of Franklin Pierce. The same home and a *worse* foreign policy, the same anti-American feeling, and contemptible subserviency

to the foreign Roman Catholic hierarchy. You ask, how do we know this? We answer, that it is as well understood that James Buchanan traded with the foreign Catholic vote in 1852, for Pierce, which put an Irish Catholic in the cabinet, from Pennsylvania, as that he defeated Henry Clay, for the presidency, in Pennsylvania, in 1844, when he practised the gross fraud upon that people, and declared to them that James K. Polk was a better *tariff* man than Henry Clay. But for this, Mr. Clay would have filled the office of President, to which he was most clearly elected, by the votes of his devoted countrymen.

It is time there was an end to this compact sale of Irish and German votes. And the American party fears not to say, that German and Irish bodies, armed under their own flag, *must* not, and *shall* not, as *foreigners*, interfere with our just political rights, to elevate aspiring American demagogues, of any party.

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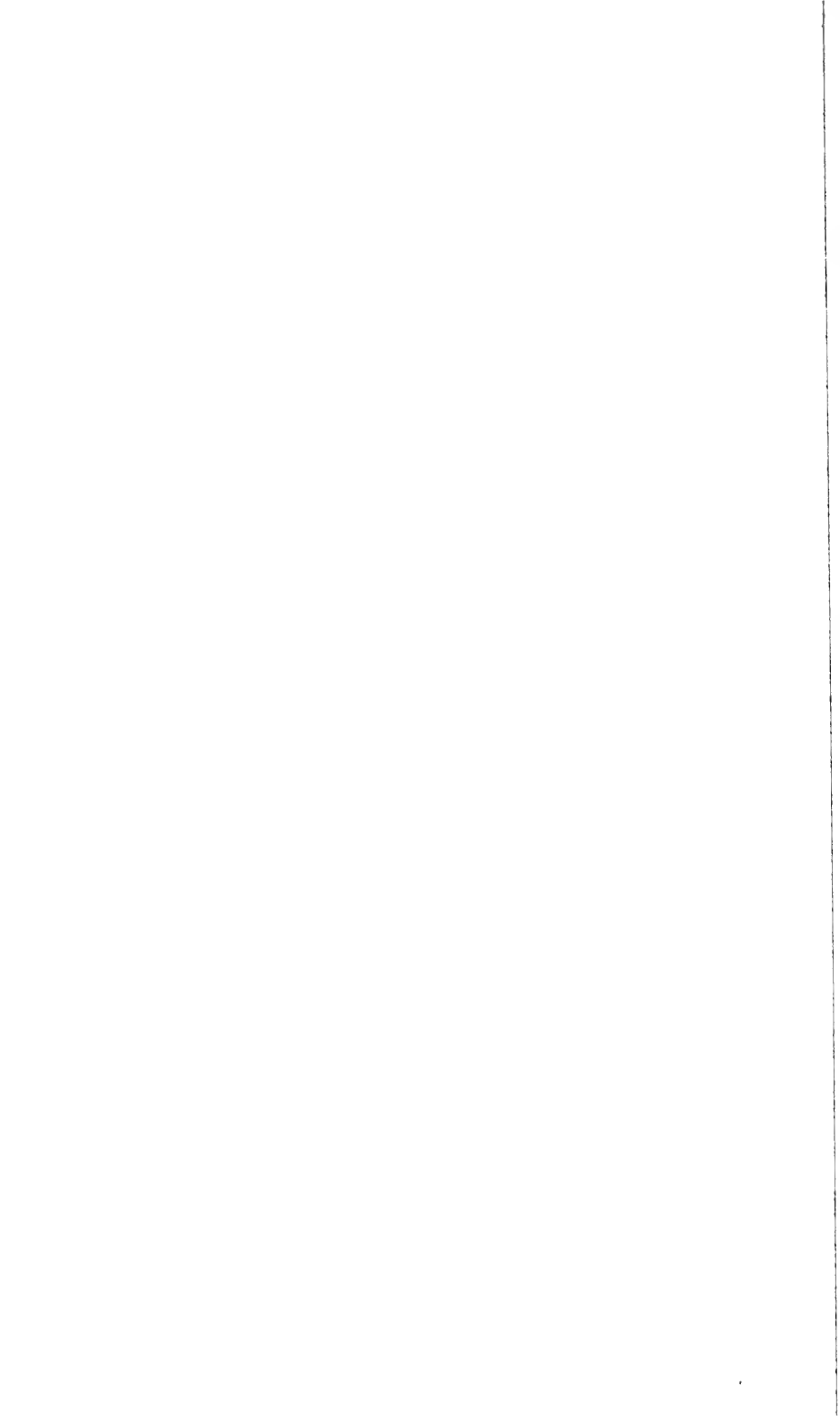
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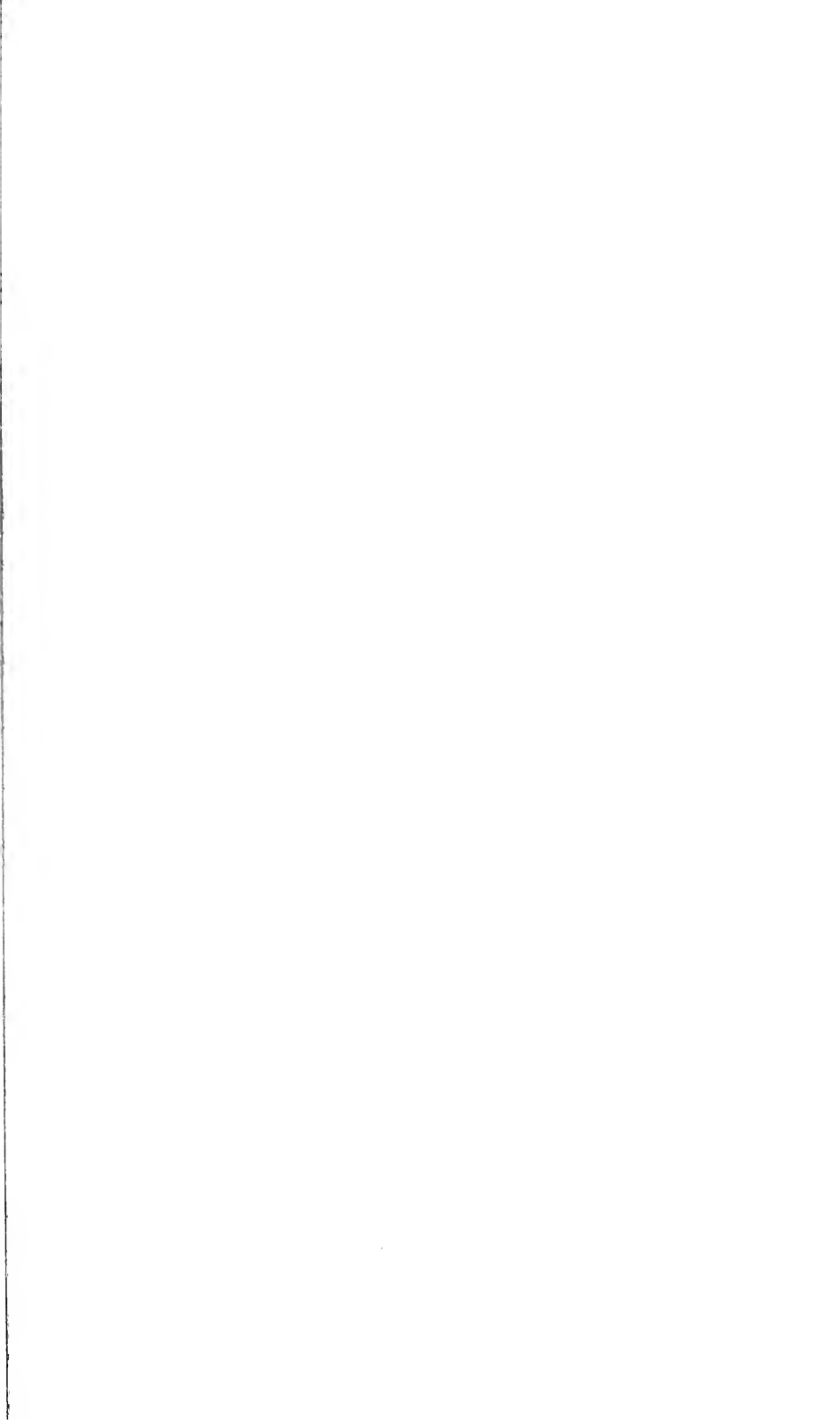
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